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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Tranſlated from the French of the

ABBÉ RAYNAL,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

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EUROPEANS

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EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK IV.

Voyages, Settlements, Wars, and Trade, of the French in the Eaſt-Indies.

BOOK IV.

Ancient revolutions of commerce in France.

THE ancient Gauls, almoſt always at war with each other, had no other intercourſe but ſuch as ſavage nations, whoſe wants are always few, can have with each other. Their connections abroad were ſtill more circumſcribed. Some navigators from Vannes carried earthen-ware to Great Britain, where they bartered it for dogs, ſlaves, tin, and furs. Such of theſe articles as they could not diſpoſe of at home, were conveyed to Marſeilles, and there exchanged for wines, ſtuffs, and ſpices, which were brought thither by traders from Italy or Greece.

THIS kind of traffic was not carried on by all the Gauls. It appears from Cæsar's account, that the inhabitants of Belgia had prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, as tending to corrupt their morals. They thought their own soil sufficiently fruitful to answer all their wants. The Celtic and Aquitanian Gauls were not so strict. To enable them to pay for the commodities they might procure from the Mediterranean, and for which their desire was continually increasing, they had recourse to a kind of labour that had never before occurred to them: they collected with great care all the gold dust that was brought down with the sand along the stream of several of their rivers.

THOUGH the Romans had neither a turn for trade, nor held it in any kind of estimation, it necessarily increased in Gaul, after they had subdued, and in some measure civilized it. Sea-ports were established at Arles, Narbonne, Bourdeaux, and other places. Magnificent roads were every where made, the ruins of which we still behold with astonishment. Every navigable river had its company of merchants, to whom considerable privileges were granted. These were called *Nautes*, and were the agents and springs of a general circulation.

THIS rising spirit was checked by the inroads of the Franks and other barbarous nations; nor was it restored to its former activity, even when these robbers had established themselves in their conquests. To their savage fury succeeded an unbounded

unbounded paſſion for wealth, to gratify which, they had recourſe to every kind of oppreſſion. Every boat that came to a town was to pay a duty for entrance, another for the ſalute, a third for the bridge, a fourth for approaching the ſhore, a fifth for anchorage, a ſixth for leave to unload, and a ſeventh for ſtore-room. Land carriages were not more favourably treated, and were expoſed to the inſufferable tyranny of cuſtom-houſe officers, who were diſperſed all over the country. Theſe exceſſes were carried ſo far, that ſometimes the goods brought to market did not produce enough to pay the expences incurred before the ſale of them. A total diſcouragement was the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch enormities.

CLOYSTERS ſoon became the only places where induſtry prevailed, and manufactures were carried on. The monks were not then corrupted by idleneſs, intrigue, and debauchery. Uſeful labours filled up the vacancies of an edifying and retired life. The moſt humble and robuſt of them ſhared the toils of agriculture with their ſervants. Thoſe to whom nature had imparted leſs ſtrength, or more underſtanding, applied themſelves to the cultivation of the neglected and abandoned arts. All of them in ſilence and retirement were engaged in the ſervice of their country, whoſe ſubſtance their ſucceſſors have inceſſantly devoured, and diſturbed its tranquillity.

DAGOBERT excited the ſpirit of his countrymen in the ſeventh century. Fairs were opened, to which the Saxons flocked with tin and lead from

England; the Jews with jewels and gold or ſilver plate; the Sclavonians with all the metals of the north; traders from Lombardy, Provence, and Spain, with the commodities of their reſpective countries, and thoſe they received from Africa, Egypt, and Syria; and merchants of every province in the kingdom, with whatever their ſoil and their induſtry afforded. Unfortunately this proſperity was of a ſhort duration; it diſappeared under indolent kings, but revived under Charlemagne.

That prince, who might without flattery be ranked with the greateſt men recorded in hiſtory, had he not been ſometimes influenced by ſanguinary ſchemes of conqueſt, and ſullied with acts of perſecution and tyranny, ſeemed to follow the footſteps of thoſe firſt Romans, who made rural labours a relaxation from the fatigues of war. He applied himſelf to the care of his vaſt domains, with that cloſeneſs and ſkill which would hardly be expected from the moſt aſſiduous man in a private ſtation. All the great men of the ſtate followed his example, and devoted themſelves to huſbandry, and to thoſe arts which attend, or are immediately connected with it. From that period the French had plenty of their own productions to barter, and could with great eaſe make them circulate throughout the immenſe empire, which was then ſubject to their dominion.

So flouriſhing a ſituation preſented a freſh allurement to the Normans to indulge the inclination they had for piracy. Thoſe barbarians, accuſtomed

accuſtomed to ſeek from plunder that wealth which their ſoil did not afford, came in multitudes out of their inhoſpitable climate in queſt of booty. They attacked all the ſea-coaſts but thoſe of France, which promiſed the richeſt ſpoil, with the greateſt violence. The ravages they committed, with the cruelties they exerciſed, the flames they kindled for a whole century in thoſe fertile provinces, cannot be remembered without horror. During that fatal period nothing was thought-of but how to eſcape ſlavery or death. There was no communication between the ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and conſequently no trade.

In the mean-time the nobles, intruſted with the adminiſtration of the provinces, had inſenſibly made themſelves maſters of them, and had found means to make their authority hereditary. They had not, indeed, thrown off all dependence on the head of the empire; but, retaining the modeſt appellation of vaſſals, they were not much leſs formidable to the ſtate than the kings in the neighbourhood of its frontiers. They were confirmed in their uſurpations at the memorable æra when the ſceptre was removed from the family of Charlemagne to that of the Capets. From that time there were no longer any national aſſemblies, no tribunals, no laws, no government. In that fatal confuſion, the ſword uſurped the place of juſtice, and the free citizens were forced to embrace ſervitude, to purchaſe the protection of a chief who was able to defend them.

BOOK IV.

COMMERCE could not poſſibly flouriſh when loaded with the ſhackles of ſlavery, and in the midſt of the continual diſturbances occaſioned by the moſt cruel anarchy. Induſtry is the child of peace; nothing depreſſes it ſo much as ſervitude. Genius languiſhes when it is not animated by hope and emulation; and neither of theſe can ſubſiſt where there is no property. Nothing is a ſtronger recommendation of liberty, or more fully proves the rights of mankind, than the impoſſibility of working ſucceſsfully to enrich barbarous maſters.

SEVERAL of the kings of France entertained ſome idea of this important truth; they attempted to abridge the power of thoſe petty tyrants, who, by ruining their unfortunate vaſſals, kept up the calamities of the monarchy. St. Lewis was the firſt who introduced trade into the ſyſtem of government. Before his time it was only a work of chance and circumſtances. He brought it under the regulation of ſtated laws; and he himſelf drew up ſtatutes, which have ſerved as a model for thoſe that have ſince been enacted.

THESE firſt ſteps led the way to meaſures of greater importance. The old law, which forbad the exportation of all productions of the kingdom, was ſtill in force, and agriculture was diſcouraged by this abſurd prohibition. The wiſe monarch removed theſe fatal impediments; expecting, not without reaſon, that a free exportation would reſtore to the nation thoſe treaſures which his imprudent expedition into Aſia had laviſhed.

SOME

Some political events ſeconded theſe ſalutary views. Before the reign of St. Lewis, the kings of France had but few ports on the ocean, and none on the Mediterranean. The northern coaſts were divided between the Counts of Flanders and the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Bretagne: the reſt belonged to the Engliſh. The ſouthern coaſts were poſſeſſed by the Counts of Toulouſe, and the Kings of Majorca, Arragon, and Caſtile. By this arrangement, the inland provinces had little or no communication with the foreign markets. The union of the county of Toulouſe with the crown removed this great obſtacle, at leaſt for a part of the French territory.

Philip, the ſon of St. Lewis, deſirous of improving the advantages of this union, endeavoured to draw to Niſmes, a city under his juriſdiction, part of the trade carried on at Montpellier, which belonged to the king of Arragon. The privileges he granted produced the deſired effect; but it was ſoon found to be an object of little conſequence. The Italians ſupplied the kingdom with ſpices, perfumes, ſilks, and all the rich ſtuffs of the Eaſt. The arts had not made ſuch progreſs in France as to admit of the manufactures being uſed in exchange; and the produce of agriculture was not ſufficient to defray ſo many expences of luxury. A trade of ſuch value could not be carried on without money, and there was but little in the kingdom, eſpecially ſince the Cruſades; though France was not ſo poor as moſt of the other European nations.

BOOK IV.

PHILIP, furnamed The Fair, was ſenſible of theſe truths; he found means to improve agriculture, ſo as to anſwer the demands of foreign importations; and theſe he reduced, by eſtabliſhing new manufactures, and improving the old ones. Under this reign the miniſtry firſt undertook to guide the hand of the artiſt, and to direct his labours. The breadth, the quality, and the dreſſing of the cloths were fixed; the exportation of wool, which the neighbouring nations came to purchaſe in order to manufacture it, was prohibited. Theſe were the beſt meaſures that could be taken in thoſe times of ignorance.

SINCE that period the progreſs of the arts was proportioned to the decay of feudal tyranny. The French, however, did not begin to form their taſte till the time of their expeditions into Italy. They were dazzled with a thouſand new objects that preſented themſelves at Genoa, Venice, and Florence. The ſtrictneſs obſerved by Anne of Bretagne, under the reigns of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. at firſt reſtrained the conquerors from giving full ſcope to their propenſity for imitation; but no ſooner had Francis I. invited the women to court, no ſooner had Catharine of Medicis croſſed the Alps, than the great affected an elegance unknown before ſince the firſt foundation of the monarchy. The whole nation was led by this alluring example of luxury, and the improvement of the manufactures was the natural conſequence.

From Henry II. to Henry IV. the civil wars, the unhappy diviſions of religion, the ignorance of government, the ſpirit of finance which began to have its influence in the council; the barbarous and devouring avarice of men in buſineſs, encouraged by the protection they enjoyed; all theſe ſeveral cauſes retarded the progreſs of induſtry, but could never deſtroy it. It revived with freſh ſplendour under the frugal adminiſtration of Sully. It was almoſt extinguiſhed under thoſe of Richelieu and Mazarine, both governed by the farmers of the revenue; one wholly taken up with his ambition for empire and his ſpirit of revenge, the other with intrigue and plunder.

First voyage of the French to the Eaſt Indies.

No king of France had ever ſeriouſly conſidered the advantages that might accrue from a trade to India, nor had the emulation of the French been excited by the luſtre which other nations derived from it. They conſumed more eaſtern productions than any other nation; they were as favourably ſituated for procuring them at the firſt hand; and yet they were content to pay to foreign induſtry what their own might as well have partaken of.

Some merchants of Rouen had ventured, indeed, in 1535, upon a ſmall expedition; but Genonville, who commanded it, met with violent ſtorms at the Cape of Good Hope, was caſt upon unknown lands, and with much difficulty got back to Europe.

In 1601 a ſociety formed in Bretagne fitted out two ſhips, to endeavour to get a ſhare, if poſſible, of the riches of the Eaſt, which the Portugueſe,

Portugueſe, the Engliſh, and the Dutch, were contending for. Pyrard, who commanded theſe ſhips, arrived at the Maldives, and did not return to his own country till after an unfortunate navigation of ten years.

A NEW company, headed by one Girard, a native of Flanders, fitted out ſome ſhips from Normandy for the iſland of Java, in 1616 and 1619. They returned with cargoes ſufficient to indemnify the adventurers, but not enough to encourage them to any freſh undertakings.

CAPTAIN Reginon, upon the expiration of this fruitleſs grant in 1633, prevailed upon ſome merchants of Dieppe, two years after, to enter upon a track which might be productive of great riches, if properly purſued. Fortune baffled the endeavours of the new adventurers. The only advantage gained by theſe repeated expeditions, was the high opinion that was conceived of the iſland of Madagaſcar, diſcovered by the Portugueſe in 1506.

THIS gave riſe to a company in 1642, which was to make a conſiderable ſettlement on that iſland, to ſecure to their ſhips the neceſſary refreſhments for ſailing further.

Settlement of the French on Madagaſcar. Deſcription of that Iſland.

UPON a ſurvey of the iſland, it was found to be ſituated along the eaſtern coaſt of Africa; it was three hundred and thirty-ſix leagues long, and one hundred and twenty broad in the wideſt part, and about eight hundred in circumference. By whatever wind a ſhip is brought there, nothing but dreary and barren ſands are to be ſeen; but

at

at a greater diſtance from the ſhore the ſoil is ſometimes black, ſometimes reddiſh, moſtly fruitful, and every where watered by a great number of rivers. Vegetation is here very quick; the ſoil requires little labour, and naturally produces rice, potatoes, bananas, pine-apples, indigo, hemp, cotton, ſilk, ſugar, palm-trees, cocoa-trees, orange-trees, gum-trees, and timber fit for building, and for every uſe. The paſtures are excellent, and are covered with oxen of the largeſt kind, and ſheep exactly reſembling thoſe of Barbary.

The iſland of Madagaſcar is divided into a great many provinces; each of them has a chief called *Dian*, which anſwers to the word Lord. All the enſigns of his dignity are his ſlaves and his flocks. His place is hereditary; but, in default of heirs, it devolves upon the oldeſt of his delegates. His council is compoſed of ſome magiſtrates whom he makes choice of; and the reſt, which is the greateſt number, reſide in the villages, to preſerve peace, and adminiſter juſtice. He can neither declare war without their conſent, nor ſupport it without the voluntary contribution and actual aſſiſtance of his people.

Such is the general form of government in the iſland; the province of Anoſſi alone differs from it, having been poſſeſſed by the Arabs for ſeveral centuries paſt. Though few in number, they ſoon became the ſtrongeſt, and divided the country into twenty-two diſtricts, each of which had a ruler of their own nation, to whom they gave the Name of *Boandrian*, or deſcendant of Abraham.

Theſe

These petty sovereigns are continually at war with each other, but never fail to unite against the other princes of Madagascar, who hold them in detestation, as being foreigners and usurpers. This is of all the island that part which is the most destitute of morals, activity, industry, and bravery, because it is the only one where there is no liberty.

Some of the French settled at Fort Dauphin, in the country of Anossi, have lately in their excursions discovered a new race of men, called *Kimos*, the tallest of whom are not above four feet high. They inhabit about forty villages in the interior parts, towards the north-west of the island. They are said to be more mischievous than their neighbours, and, what appears very extraordinary, not so cowardly. They never stir out of their mountains, nor suffer any one to penetrate into them.

The other inhabitants of Madagascar are tall, nimble, and have a haughty appearance. They will mask a deep design, or a strong passion, under a smiling face, as artfully as any knave in a civilized nation. They are ignorant of the origin of their laws, but observe them with great exactness. The old men, who are intrusted with the care of enforcing them, never take any fee for the trial of a criminal, and think themselves sufficiently rewarded if they can rid their country of a malefactor. In civil causes the parties bring them so many head of cattle, in proportion to the importance of the affair.

THE offence that is moſt frequently brought before theſe magiſtrates is theft. Notwithſtanding the cuſtom of boring the hand of the perſon convicted of this crime, the propenſity to theft prevails univerſally. The inhabitants, ever afraid of their property, live in continual miſtruſt of each other. For their mutual ſecurity, they ſeal their engagements with the moſt ſolemn oaths. They are ſo accuſtomed to theſe formalities, that they practiſe them even when they have any tranſactions with Europeans. On theſe important occaſions, he who repreſents the nation puts into a veſſel, filled with brandy, ſome gold, ſilver, gun-flint, if poſſible ſome of the duſt of the tomb of his anceſtors, and frequently blood, which, after the manner of the ancient Scythians, the parties draw out of their own arms by inciſion. During theſe preparatives, their weapons are laid on the ground in the form of a croſs. Soon after, both parties take them up, and hold them with the point in the cup, conſtantly ſtirring the contents till the agreement is made. Then the contracting parties, the witneſſes, and the ſpectators, all drink out of the cup till it is empty; after which they embrace and retire.

RELIGIOUS principles do not reſtrain the people of Madagaſcar from acts of injuſtice. Though in general they admit the prevailing doctrine of the two principles, they have but a confuſed notion of it, nor have they any form of worſhip whatever. Notwithſtanding this indifference for religion, they are addicted to every kind of ſuperſtition,

ſtition. In their uncouth notions of aſtrology they neither ſee, nor imagine, any thing which they do not connect with futurity.

The moſt dangerous of all their prejudices is, doubtleſs, the diſtinction between lucky and unlucky days. They inhumanely put to death all children born on the unlucky day. This deſtructive principle is one cauſe among many others which prevents the population of this country.

Thoſe who do not fall victims to this cruel ſuperſtition are generally circumciſed at the age of two years, or twenty-four moons, as they expreſs it. The ceremony is performed with all poſſible ſolemnity. While the operation is performing, one of the child's parents holds a cup under the ſacred knife; and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the uncles ſwallows the part of the prepuce that has been cut off. The reſt of the family, and the byſtanders, dip a finger into the blood, and taſte it. Theſe ſingular myſteries are concluded with feſtivity, dancing, and pleaſures of all kinds.

The people of Madagaſcar never receive any kind of education, and marry as ſoon as they attain to the ſtate of manhood. A man of the lower claſs, even a ſlave, takes as many wives as he pleaſes, or as many as he can find. Perſons in higher ſtations have but one lawful wife; but in order to vary their pleaſures they keep concubines. They all put away their wives whenever they diſlike them; and both parties are at full liberty to marry again, or to remain ſingle.

THE people of Madagaſcar lead an idle and diſſolute life, and ſeldom arrive at old age. An unwholeſome climate, bad food, conſtant debauchery, the want of proper aſſiſtance, together with other cauſes, concur to haſten their end. When a man dies, the whole neighbourhood is apprized of it by lamentations, expreſſed in one continued mournful ſtrain. The relations meet, and partake of the moſt profuſe entertainments, whilſt the moſt affectionate of the ſlaves keeps aſking the deceaſed, "What could induce him to quit all that was dear to him." After eight days the corpſe is buried with the choiceſt jewels of the deceaſed, who is not even then forgotten. The reſpect for anceſtors is incredible in thoſe barbarous regions. It is no uncommon thing, to ſee men of all ages weep over the tombs of their fathers, and aſk their advice in the moſt important occurrences of life.

THE common food of the inhabitants of Madagaſcar is rice, which multiplies a hundred fold, though no pains are taken in cultivating it. Their drink is a kind of mead, and wine made with ſugar and banana. Their greateſt finery is a pagne over their ſhoulders, and another round their waiſt.

MADAGASCAR had been viſited by the Portugueſe, the Dutch, and the Engliſh; who had deſpiſed it, finding none of thoſe objects which brought them to the Eaſt. The French, who ſeemed to have no determinate object in view, ſpent that capital they had reſerved for the purpoſe of trade, in ſubduing the iſland. They found ſome gold ſcattered in one corner of it, and directly

directly concluded there must be gold mines, never suspecting that this metal, the quantity of which was continually decreasing, might have been brought thither by the Arabs. They were punished for their greediness, by the loss of their whole stock. At the expiration of their grant they had nothing left but a few tenements, situated in five or six different parts of the coast, built of boards covered with leaves, surrounded with stakes, and decorated with the pompous name of forts, because they mounted a few bad pieces of cannon. Their defenders were reduced to about a hundred robbers, who by their cruelties daily increased the hatred conceived against their nation. The whole of their conquests amounted to a few small districts, forsaken by the natives; and some few larger ones, from whence they forcibly extorted a tribute of provisions.

Marshal de la Meilleraie seized upon these ruins, and conceived the project of restoring this ill-conducted undertaking for his own private emolument. He had so little success, that his property sold but for 20,000 livres *, which was full as much as it was worth.

At last, in 1664, Colbert presented Lewis XIV. a plan for an East India Company. Agriculture was then so flourishing in France, and industry so animated, that this branch of commerce seemed to be needless. The minister was of a different opinion; he foresaw that the other European na-

* 875l.

tions

tions would follow his example, and set up manufactures of their own, and would also have another advantage over them by their connections in the East Indies. This was considered as an instance of deep penetration, and an East India company was accordingly created, vested with all the privileges enjoyed by the Dutch East India company. Colbert went still further; and, considering that in order to carry on great commercial undertakings there must always be a certain confidence in republics, which cannot be expected in monarchies, had recourse to every expedient that could produce it.

A CHARTER was granted for fifty years, that the company might be encouraged to form great settlements, with a prospect of reaping the fruits of them.

ALL foreigners advancing 20,000 livres * were to be deemed Frenchmen, without being naturalized.

ON the like terms, officers, whatever corps they belonged to, were allowed leave of absence, without forfeiting the rights of their post, or their pay.

WHATEVER was wanted for the building, equipment or victualling of the ships, was to be entered duty-free, and be exempt from all duties to the admiralty.

THE government engaged to pay fifty livres † per ton for all goods exported from France to

* 875l.

† 21. 3s. 9d.

BOOK IV.

India, and seventy-five livres * for every ton imported from thence.

The government entered into engagements, to defend the settlements of the company with a sufficient military force, and to convoy their outward and homeward bound ships, with as strong a squadron as exigencies should require.

The reigning passion of the nation was made subservient to this establishment. Hereditary titles and honours were promised to such as should distinguish themselves in the service of the company.

As trade was yet in its infancy in France, and was unable to furnish the fifteen millions † that were to constitute the stock of the new society, the ministry engaged to lend as far as three millions ‡. The nobles, the magistrates, all orders of men, were invited to share the rest. The nation, proud to please their king, who had not yet crushed them with the weight of his false greatness, came into the proposal with great eagerness.

The persisting in the resolution of forming a settlement at Madagascar deprived the company of the benefit of the first voyage. They were at length obliged to relinquish that island, whose savage and unconquerable inhabitants could not be reconciled either to the commodities, the worship, or the manners of Europe.

At that period it was, that the company's ships began to sail directly to India. By the intrigues of Marcara, a native of Ispahan, but in the French interest, they obtained leave to establish

* 3l. 5s. 7d. ½ † Above 656,200l. ‡ 131,250l.

factories

factories on several places on the coast of the peninsula. They even attempted to secure a share of the Japan trade. Colbert offered to send none but protestants; but by the artifices of the Dutch, the French were denied an entrance into that empire, as the English had been before.

The French make Surat the center of their trade.

Surat had been pitched upon for the center of all the business which the company was to carry on in those parts. It was from that capital of Guzarat that all orders were to be issued for the inferior settlements. Thither all goods destined for Europe were to be brought.

Account of this famous city, and of the province of Guzarat in which it is situated.

Guzarat forms a peninsula between the Indus and Malabar. It is about one hundred and sixty miles in length, and much the same in breadth. It is separated from the kingdom of Agra by the mountains of Marva. It rains there incessantly from June to September; at all other times the sky is so clear, that scarce a cloud is to be seen. The burning heat of the sun, however, is happily tempered by refreshing dews, which cool the air and moisten the ground. The richness of a soil abounding in corn, rice, sugar, cotton, cattle, game, fruits of all kinds continually succeeding each other, added to a variety of important manufactures, was sufficient for the happiness of the inhabitants; when, in the beginning of the eighth century, strangers came and introduced new branches of industry among them.

Some Persians, who were persecuted for their opinions by the Saracens their conquerors, took refuge in the isle of Ormus, whence they sailed

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ſome time after for India, and landed at Diu. In this aſylum they continued only nineteen years, and then embarked again. They were driven by the winds upon a pleaſant ſhore between Daman and Baçaim. The prince who governed that country conſented to receive them as his ſubjects, on condition that they ſhould reveal the myſteries of their belief, that they ſhould lay down their arms, that they ſhould ſpeak the Indian language, that their women ſhould go abroad unveiled, and that they ſhould celebrate their nuptials at the cloſe of the evening, according to the cuſtom of the country. As theſe ſtipulations contained nothing repugnant to their religious notions, the people who fled there for protection agreed to them. A piece of ground was allotted them, where they built a town, whence they ſoon ſpread further up the country.

A HABIT of labour happily contracted by neceſſity had made both the lands and the manufactures proſper in their hands. They were ſo wiſe as not to interfere with government or war, and enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the midſt of all the revolutions that happened from time to time. In conſequence of this circumſpection, and of the affluence in which they lived, they multiplied very faſt. They always remained a ſeparate people, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Parſes, never inter-marrying with the Indians, and adhering to the principles which had occaſioned their baniſhment. Their tenets were thoſe of Zoroaſter, ſomewhat altered by time, ignorance, and the rapaciouſneſs of the prieſts.

THE

THE prosperity of Guzarat, partly owing to the exiled Persians, excited the ambition of two formidable powers. Whilst the Portuguese annoyed it on the side of the sea by the ravages they committed, by the victories they gained, and by the conquest of Diu, justly esteemed the bulwark of the kingdom; the Moguls, already masters of the north of India, and eager to advance towards the southern parts where trade and riches were to be found, threatened it from the continent.

BADUR, a Patan by birth, who then reigned over Guzarat, saw how impossible it would be for him at once to withstand two such enemies, both bent upon his destruction. He thought he had less to fear from a people whose forces were separated from their dominions by immense seas, than from a nation firmly settled on the frontiers of his provinces. This consideration made him determine to be reconciled with the Portuguese. The concessions he made induced them to join with him against Akbar, whose activity and courage they dreaded little less than he did.

THIS alliance disconcerted men who thought they had only Indians to deal with. They could not think of engaging with Europeans, who were reputed invincible. The natives, not yet recovered from the consternation into which these conquerors had thrown them, represented them to the Mogul soldiers as men come down from heaven, or risen from the waters, of a species infinitely superior to the Asiatics, and far surpassing them in valour, genius, and knowledge. The army,

ſeized with a panic, was urging the generals to march back to Delhi, when Akbar, convinced that a prince who undertakes a great conqueſt muſt command his own troops, haſtened to his camp. He did not heſitate to promiſe his troops that they ſhould ſubdue a people enervated by luxury, riches, pleaſures, and the heat of the climate; and that the glory of purging Aſia of that handful of banditti was reſerved for them. The army, thus encouraged, expreſſed their ſatisfaction, and marched on with confidence. They ſoon came to an engagement; the Portugueſe, ill ſeconded by their allies, were ſurrounded and cut to pieces. Badur fled, and never returned. All the cities of Guzarat haſtened to open their gates to the conqueror. This fine kingdom in 1565 became a province of that vaſt empire which was ſoon to ſubdue all Indoſtan.

Under the Mogul government, which was then in its full glory, Guzarat enjoyed more tranquillity than before. The manufactures were multiplied at Cambaya, Amadabat, Broitſchia, and ſeveral other places. New ones were ſet up in thoſe towns which were yet unacquainted with this branch of induſtry. The culture of lands was improved, and their productions increaſed. That part of Malabar which borders upon Guzarat, long ſince tired of the impoſitions of the Portugueſe, brought their linen cloths thither. The goods manufactured on the banks of the Indus were likewiſe ſent to this country, as they could not conveniently be conveyed down the river, the ſtream

ſtream being too rapid above to land them, and below the waters diſcharging into the ſea by ſo many channels, that they are in a manner loſt in the ſands.

All theſe riches centered at Surat, which ſtands on the river Tapta, a few miles from the ocean. This city was indebted for this advantage to a fort, which protected the merchants, and to its harbour, the beſt on that coaſt, though not an excellent one. The Moguls, who had then no other maritime town, drew all their articles of luxury from thence; and the Europeans, who had not at that time any of the great ſettlements they have ſince made at Bengal and on the coaſt of Coromandel, bought moſt of their Indian commodities at that place. They were all collected there, as the people of Surat had taken care to procure a navy ſuperior to that of their neighbours.

Their ſhips, which were exceedingly durable, were moſtly of a thouſand or twelve hundred tons burthen. They were built of a very ſtrong wood called Teak. Inſtead of launching them with a coſtly apparatus and complicated engines, they let the tide into the dock, and it ſet them afloat. The cordage was made of the bark of the cocoa-tree; it was rougher and leſs pliable than ours, but at leaſt as ſtrong. Their cotton ſails were neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo laſting as our hempen ones, but more pliable and leſs apt to be torn. Inſtead of pitch, they made uſe of the gum of a tree called Damar, which was, perhaps, prefer-

able. The ſkill of their officers, though but moderate, was ſufficient for the ſeas and the ſeaſons in which they ſailed. As to their ſailors, called Laſcars, the Europeans have found them ſerviceable in their voyages from one part of India to another. They have even been employed ſucceſsfully in bringing home into our ſtormy latitudes ſuch ſhips as had loſt their crews.

So many united advantages had brought to Surat a great concourſe of Moguls, Indians, Perſians, Arabs, Armenians, Jews, and Europeans. We hardly ſuſpected that commerce was founded on any certain principles, while theſe principles were already known and practiſed in this part of Aſia. The value of money was very low, and it was eaſily obtained; and bills of exchange might be had for every market in India. Inſurances for the moſt diſtant navigations were very common. Such was the honeſty of theſe traders, that bags of money, ticketed and ſealed by the bankers, would circulate for years, without ever being counted or weighed. Fortunes were proportionable to the facility with which they were to be acquired by trade. Thoſe of five or ſix millions * were not uncommon, and ſome were even more conſiderable.

These fortunes were moſtly poſſeſſed by the Banians, a ſet of traders who were noted for their honeſty. A few moments were ſufficient for them to tranſact the moſt important buſineſs. In the moſt intricate diſcuſſions, they preſerved an even-

* About 240,000l. on an average.

neſs

neſs of temper and a politeneſs which can hardly be conceived.

THEIR children, who aſſiſted at all bargains, were early trained up to this gentleneſs of manners. Upon the firſt dawning of reaſon, they were initiated into all the myſteries of trade. It was a common thing to ſee a child, of ten or twelve years old, able to ſupply his father's place. What a contraſt, what a diſtance, between this and the education of our children; and yet, what a difference between the attainments of the Indians and the progreſs of our knowledge!

SUCH of the Banians as had Abyſſinian ſlaves, and very few of theſe good-natured men had any, treated them with ſuch humanity as muſt appear very ſingular to us. They brought them up as if they had been of their own family, trained them to buſineſs, advanced them money to enable them to trade for themſelves, and not only ſuffered them to enjoy the profits, but even allowed them to diſpoſe of them in favour of their deſcendents, if they had any.

THE expences of the Banians were not proportioned to their fortunes. As they were reſtrained by the principles of their religion from eating meat or drinking ſtrong liquors, they lived upon fruits, and a few plain diſhes. They never departed from this frugality but upon the ſettlement of their children. On this ſingle occaſion, no expence was ſpared for the entertainment, or for the muſic, dancing, and fireworks. Their whole ambition was to tell how much the wedding

ding had coſt. Sometimes it amounted to a hundred thouſand crowns †.

Even their women had a taſte for this ſimplicity of manners. All their glory conſiſted in pleaſing their huſbands. Perhaps, the great veneration in which they held the nuptial tie aroſe from the cuſtom of marrying them in their earlieſt infancy. That ſentiment was in their opinion the moſt ſacred part of their religion. They never did allow themſelves the leaſt converſation with ſtrangers. Leſs reſerve would not have ſatisfied their huſbands, who could not hear without aſtoniſhment of the familiarity that prevailed between the two ſexes in Europe. When they were told that this freedom was attended with no ill conſequence, they were not convinced; but ſhook their heads, and anſwered by one of their proverbs, which ſignifies, *That if you bring butter too near the fire, you can hardly keep it from melting.*

Excepting the Moguls, who were in poſſeſſion of all places under the government, were very extravagant in their ſtables, their baths, and their ſeraglios, and ran into every kind of indulgence to drown the ſenſe of deſpotiſm under which they lived; all the merchants of Surat conformed to the frugality of the Banians, as far as the difference of religion would admit. Their greateſt expence was the decorating of their houſes.

These were contrived in the beſt manner to guard againſt the heat of the climate. The outſide walls were covered with beautiful wainſcot-

† 13,125 l.

ing,

ing, and the inſide ones, as well as the cielings, inlaid with porcelain. The panes of their windows were ſhell or mother of pearl, which tempered the glare of the ſun without too much obſtructing the light. The apartments were neatly diſpoſed and furniſhed, ſuitably to the cuſtoms of the country; and one of the rooms was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a fountain of water ſpouting up from a marble baſon, whoſe gentle murmurs invited the company to ſoft ſlumbers.

During their repoſe, the common indulgence of the inhabitants of Surat was to ſtretch themſelves upon a ſopha, where they were rubbed by men of ſingular dexterity, or rather kneaded, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, like dough. The neceſſity of promoting the circulation of the fluids, too often retarded by the heat of the climate, firſt ſuggeſted the notion of this exerciſe, which affords them an infinite variety of delightful ſenſations. They fall into ſuch a ſtate of languor, that they ſometimes almoſt faint away. This cuſtom was ſaid to be brought into India from China; and ſome epigrams of Martial, and declamations of Seneca, ſeem to hint that it was not unknown to the Romans at the time when they refined upon every pleaſure, as the tyrants who enſlaved thoſe maſters of the world afterwards refined upon every torture.

They had another ſpecies of pleaſure at Surat, which, perhaps, our effeminacy would have envied them ſtill more; and this was their female dancers,

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dancers, whom the Europeans call *Balladieres*, a name given them by the Portugueſe.

Numbers of theſe are collected together in ſeminaries of pleaſure. The moſt accompliſhed of theſe ſocieties are devoted to the richeſt and moſt frequented Pagodas. Their deſtination is to dance in the temples on their great feſtivals, and to be ſubſervient to the pleaſures of the Bramins. Theſe prieſts, who have not taken the artful and deceitful vow of renouncing the enjoyment of all pleaſures in order to have the opportunity of indulging in them more freely, chuſe rather to have women of their own, than at once to defile celibacy and wedlock. They do not invade another man's right by adultery, but are jealous of the dancers, whoſe worſhip and vows they ſhare with the gods; but they never ſuffer them without reluctance to contribute to the amuſement even of kings and great men.

The riſe of this ſingular inſtitution is not known. Probably, one Bramin, who had a concubine or a wife, aſſociated with another Bramin, who had likewiſe his concubine or his wife; and, in proceſs of time, the mixture of ſo many Bramins and women occaſioned ſuch confuſion, that the women came to be common to all thoſe prieſts. Let but a number of ſingle perſons of both ſexes be collected in a cloyſter, and a commonalty of men and women will ſoon take place.

By this mutual intercourſe, a jealouſy was probably extinguiſhed; and the women were not uneaſy at the increaſe of their numbers, nor the Bramins

Bramins at that of their order. It was rather a new conqueſt than a rivalſhip.

It is no leſs probable, that, in order to palliate the infamy of this licentiouſneſs in the eyes of the people, all women were conſecrated to the ſervice of the altars; and that the people readily conſented to this kind of ſuperſtition, as it inſured their wives and daughters from ſeduction, by confining the lawleſs deſires of theſe monks to one particular ſpot.

The contrivance of ſtamping a ſacred character upon theſe courtezans, might poſſibly make parents the more willing to part with their beautiful daughters, and to conſent that they ſhould follow their calling, and devote themſelves to theſe ſeminaries, from whence the ſuperannuated women might return to ſociety without diſgrace: for there is no crime that may not be ſanctified, no virtue that may not be debaſed, by the intervention of the gods. The very notion of a Supreme Being may, in the hands of a crafty prieſt, be made ſubverſive of all morality. He will affirm, not that ſuch a thing is pleaſing to the gods, becauſe it is good; but that ſuch a thing is good, becauſe it is pleaſing to the gods.

The Bramins wanted only to gain another point in order to complete this inſtitution; which was, to perſuade the people that it was decent, holy, and pleaſing to the gods, to marry a balladiere in preference to all other women, and thereby induce them to ſolicit the remains of their debaucheries as a particular mark of favour.

In every city there are other companies, not ſo well inſtructed as the former, for the amuſement of the rich. The Moors and Gentiles may equally procure a ſight of theſe dancers at their country-houſes, or in their public aſſemblies. There are even ſtrolling companies of them, conducted by old women, who, having been themſelves trained up in theſe ſeminaries, in time are promoted to the direction of them.

These handſome girls have the cuſtom, as ſingular as it is diſguſtful, of being always followed by an old deformed muſician, whoſe employment is to beat time with an inſtrument of braſs, which the Europeans have lately borrowed of the Turks to add to their military muſic, and which in India is called a *tam*. The man who holds it is continually repeating that word with ſuch vehemence, that by degrees he works himſelf up into dreadful convulſions; whilſt the balladieres, intoxicated with the deſire of pleaſing, and the ſweets with which they are perfumed, at length loſe their ſenſes.

Their dances are, in general, love pantomimes: the plan, the deſign, the attitudes, the time, the airs, the cadence, all is expreſſive of this paſſion, with all its raptures and extravagances.

Every thing conſpires to the amazing ſucceſs of theſe voluptuous women; the art and richneſs of their attire, as well as their ingenuity in ſetting off their beauty. Their long black hair falling over their ſhoulders, or braided and turned up, is loaded with diamonds, and ſtuck with flowers.

Their

Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched with precious ſtones. Even their noſe jewels, an ornament which ſhocks us at firſt ſight, has ſomething pleaſing in it, and ſets of all the other ornaments by a certain ſymmetry, whoſe effect, though inexplicable, is yet ſenſibly felt by degrees.

NOTHING can equal the care they take to preſerve their breaſts, as one of the moſt ſtriking marks of their beauty. To prevent them from growing large or ill-ſhaped, they incloſe them in two caſes made of an exceeding light wood, which are joined together, and buckled behind. Theſe caſes are ſo ſmooth and ſo ſupple, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body, without being flattened, and without injuring the delicacy of the ſkin. The outſide of theſe caſes is covered with a leaf of gold ſtudded with diamonds. This is certainly one of the moſt refined kind of ornaments, and the beſt calculated to preſerve beauty. They take it off and put it on again with ſingular facility. This covering of the breaſt does not prevent the palpitations, heavings, and tender emotions of it from being perceived: it conceals nothing that can contribute to excite deſire.

MOST of theſe dancers imagine it an addition to the beauty of their complexion, and the impreſſion of their looks, to trace a black circle round their eyes with a hair bodkin, dipped in the powder of antimony. This borrowed beauty, celebrated by all the eaſtern poets, appeared very ſingular at firſt to the Europeans; but cuſtom has reconciled them to it.

THE

THE whole life, the whole employment, the whole felicity of the balladieres conſiſts in the art of pleaſing. It is not eaſy to reſiſt their ſeducing manners. They are even preferred to thoſe beauties of Caſſimere, which fill the ſeraglios of Indoſtan, as the fair Georgians and Circaſſians do thoſe of Iſpahan and Conſtantinople. The modeſty, or rather the reſerve of proud ſlaves, ſequeſtered from the ſociety of men, cannot balance the arts of theſe expert courtezans.

THEY were no where ſo much in repute as at Surat, the richeſt and moſt populous city in India. It began to decline in 1664; and was pillaged by the famous Sevagi, who carried off twenty-five or thirty millions *. The plunder would have been infinitely greater, had not the Engliſh and Dutch eſcaped the public calamity, by the care they had taken to fortify their factories, and had not the moſt valuable effects been lodged in the caſtle, which was out of the enemy's reach. This loſs made the inhabitants more cautious. They built walls round the city, to prevent the like misfortune; the effects of which were removed, when the Engliſh, in 1686, with ſhameful and inexcuſable rapacity, ſtopped all the ſhips that were fitting out at Surat to be diſpatched to the ſeveral ſeas. This piracy, which laſted three years, deprived this famous mart of almoſt every branch of trade that was not its own peculiar property. The town was nearly reduced to its own natural riches.

* About 1,200,000l. on an average.

OTHER

OTHER pirates have ſince infeſted thoſe latitudes, and from time to time diſturbed the trade of Surat. Even their caravans, that carried their merchandiſes to Agra, to Delhi, and all over the empire, were not always ſecured from the attacks of the ſubjects of the independent rajas, which they met with on the ſeveral roads. They had formerly recourſe to a ſingular expedient for the ſecurity of their caravans, which was, to put them under the protection of a woman or child, of a race held ſacred by the nations they dreaded. When the banditti appeared, the guardians of the caravans threatened to deſtroy themſelves if they perſiſted in their reſolution of plundering it, and actually did ſo if they did not yield to their remonſtrances. Theſe profligate men, who had not been reſtrained by reſpect of blood held ſacred, were excommunicated, degraded, and caſt out of their tribe. The dread of theſe ſevere puniſhments was ſometimes a check upon avarice; but ſince univerſal commotions have prevailed in Indoſtan, no conſideration can allay the thirſt of gold.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe misfortunes, Surat is ſtill a great trading city. The produce of the numberleſs manufactures all over Guzarat is depoſited in its warehouſes. A great part is carried into the inland countries; the reſt is conveyed to all parts of the globe by conſtant voyages.

THE goods more commonly known are, 1ſt, Dutties, a kind of coarſe unbleached cloth, worn in Perſia, Arabia, Abyſſinia, and the eaſtern coaſt of Africa; and blue linens, which are diſpoſed of

in the ſame manner, and are likewiſe ſold to the Engliſh and Dutch for their Guinea trade.

2. The blue and white checks of Cambaya, which are worn for mantles in Arabia and Turkey: ſome are coarſe, and ſome fine, and ſome even mixed with gold for the uſe of the rich.

3. The white linens of Broitſchia, ſo well known by the name of Bafras. As they are extremely fine, they make ſummer caftans for the Turks and Perſians. The ſort of muſlin, with a gold ſtripe at each end, with which they make their turbans, is manufactured at the ſame place.

4. The printed callicoes of Amadabat, whoſe colours are as bright, as fine, and as durable, as thoſe of Coromandel. They are worn in Perſia, in Turkey, and in Europe. The rich people of Java, Sumatra, and the Molucca iſlands, make pagnes and coverlets of theſe chintzes.

5. The gauzes of Biarapour; the blue ones are worn by the common people in Perſia and Turkey for their ſummer cloathing, and the red ones by perſons of higher rank. The Jews, who are not allowed by the Porte to wear white, make their turbans with theſe gauzes.

6. Mixed ſtuffs of ſilk and cotton, plain, ſtriped, ſome with ſattin ſtripes, ſome mixed with gold and ſilver. If they were not ſo dear, they would be eſteemed even in Europe for the brightneſs of their colours, and the fine execution of the flowers, though their patterns are ſo indifferent. They ſoon wear out; but this is of little conſequence in the ſeraglios of Turkey and Perſia where they are uſed.

7. Some

7. Some are all silk, called tapis. These are pagnes of several colours, much esteemed in the eastern parts of India. Many more would be wove, if it had not been necessary to use foreign materials, which enhances the price too much.

8. Shauls, very light, warm, and fine cloths, made of the wool of Cassimere. They are dyed of different colours, striped, and flowered. They are worn for a winter dress in Turkey, Persia, and the more temperate parts of India. With this fine wool turbans are woven, that are ell-wide, and a little more than three ells long, which sell from 2400 to 3600 livres*. Though this wool is sometimes manufactured at Surat, the finest works of this kind are made at Cassimere.

Besides the prodigious quantity of cotton made use of in the manufactures of Surat, seven or eight thousand bales at least are annually sent to Bengal. Much more is sent to China, Persia, and Arabia, when the crops are very plentiful. If they are moderate, the overplus is carried down the Ganges, where it is always sold at a higher price.

Though Surat receives, in exchange for her exports, porcelain from China; silk from Bengal and Persia; masts and pepper from Malabar; gums, dates, dried fruits, copper, and pearls, from Persia; perfumes and slaves from Arabia; great quantities of spices from the Dutch; iron, lead, cloth, cochineal, and some hard wares from the English; the balance is so much in her favour, as

* About 130l. on an average.

to bring in yearly twenty-five or twenty-ſix millions of livres* in ready money. The profit would be much greater, if the riches of the court of Delhi were not conveyed into another channel.

However, this balance could never again riſe to what it was when the French ſettled at Surat in 1668. Their leader was one Caron. He was a merchant of French extraction, who was grown old in the ſervice of the Dutch company. Hamilton ſays, that this able man, who had ingratiated himſelf with the emperor of Japan, had obtained leave to build a houſe for his maſters on the iſland where the factory ſtood which was under his direction. This building proved to be a caſtle. The natives, who knew nothing of fortification, did not entertain any ſuſpicion of it. They ſurprized ſome pieces of cannon that were ſending from Batavia, and informed the court of what was going forward. Caron was ordered to repair to Jeddo, to give an account of his conduct. As he had nothing reaſonable to alledge in his vindication, he was treated with great ſeverity and contempt. They plucked off his beard by the roots, put him on a fool's cap and coat, and in this condition expoſed him to the inſults of the populace, and he was baniſhed from the empire. The reception he met with at Java gave him a diſguſt againſt the intereſt he had eſpouſed; and, actuated by revenge, he went over to the French, and became their agent.

* On an average about 1,116,000l.

Surat,

Attack of the French upon the iſlands of Ceylon and St. Thomas. Their ſettlement at Pondicherry.

SURAT, where they had fixed him, did not anſwer his idea of a chief ſettlement. He diſliked the ſituation; he lamented his being obliged to purchaſe his ſafety by ſubmiſſion; he foreſaw it would be a diſadvantage to carry on trade in competition with richer nations, who knew more, and were held in greater eſteem, than themſelves. He wiſhed to find an independent port in the center of India, or in ſome of the ſpice iſlands, without which he thought it impoſſible for any company to ſupport itſelf. The Bay of Trinquimale, in the iſland of Ceylon, appeared to him to unite all theſe advantages; and he accordingly ſailed for that place with a powerful ſquadron, which had been ſent him from Europe under the command of La Haye, who was to act under his direction. The French believed, or feigned to believe, that a ſettlement might be made there without encroaching upon the rights of the Dutch, whoſe property had never been acknowledged by the ſovereign of the iſland, with whom they had entered into a treaty.

ALL that they alledged might indeed be true, but the event did not anſwer their expectation. They divulged a project which they ought to have kept a profound ſecret; they executed deliberately an expedition which ought to have been effected by ſurprize; they were intimidated by a fleet which was not in a condition to fight, and which could not poſſibly have received orders to hazard an engagement. The greater part of the ſhips crews and of the land forces periſhed by want and ſickneſs; ſome men were left in a

ſmall fort they had erected, where they were ſoon compelled to ſurrender. With the remaining few who had ſurvived the hardſhips of this expedition, they went in ſearch of proviſions on the coaſt of Coromandel; but finding none either at the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar, or any where elſe, impelled by deſpair, they attacked St. Thomas, where they were informed there was great plenty.

This town, which had long been in a flouriſhing condition, had been built by the Portugueſe above a hundred years before. The king of Golconda, having conquered the Carnatic, did not ſee without regret ſo important a place in foreign hands; he ſent his generals to attack it in 1662, and they made themſelves maſters of it. The fortifications, though conſiderable and in good repair, did not ſtop the progreſs of the French, who took them by ſtorm in 1672. They were ſoon attacked here, and were forced to ſurrender two years after; becauſe the Dutch, who were at war with Lewis XIV. joined with the Indians to expel them.

This laſt event would have entirely ruined the enterpriſe, after all the expence the government had been at to ſupport the company, had not Martin been one of the merchants ſent on board La Haye's ſquadron. He collected the remains of the two colonies of Ceylon and St. Thomas, and with them he peopled the little town of Pondicherry, that had been lately ceded to him, and was riſing to a city, when the company entertained

good

Settlement of the French at Siam. Their deſigns on Tonquin and Cochinchina.

good hopes of a new ſettlement which they had now an opportunity of forming in India.

SOME miſſionaries had preached the goſpel at Siam. They had gained the love of the people by their doctrine and by their behaviour. Plain, good-natured, and humane men, without intrigue or avarice, they gave no jealouſy to the government nor to the people; they had inſpired them with reſpect and love for the French in general, and in particular for Lewis XIV.

A GREEK, of a reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirit, named Conſtantine Faulkon, in his travels to Siam, had ſo far engaged the affections of the prince, that in a ſhort time he raiſed him to the poſt of prime miniſter, or barcalon, an office which nearly anſwers to the ancient *maires* of the palace of France.

FAULKON governed both the people and the king in the moſt deſpotic manner. The prince was weak, a valetudinarian, and had no iſſue. His miniſter conceived a project to ſucceed him; poſſibly to dethrone him. It is well known that theſe attempts are as eaſy and as frequent in abſolute governments, as they are difficult and uncommon in countries where the prince governs by the rules of juſtice; where the origin and meaſure of his authority is regulated by fundamental and immutable laws, which are under the guardianſhip of numbers of able magiſtrates. There the enemies of the ſovereign ſhew that they are enemies of the ſtate; there they find themſelves ſoon thwarted in their deſigns by all the forces of the nation; becauſe, by rebelling againſt the chief, they rebel

againſt the laws, which are the ſtanding and immutable will of the nation.

FAULKON formed the deſign of making the French ſubſervient to his ſcheme, as ſome ambitious men had formerly made uſe of a guard of ſix hundred Japaneſe, who had often diſpoſed of the crown of Siam. He ſent ambaſſadors into France in 1684, to make a tender of his maſter's alliance, to offer ſea-ports to the French merchants, and to aſk for ſhips and troops.

THE oſtentatious vanity of Lewis XIV. took advantage of this embaſſy. The flatterers of that prince, who was too much extolled, though he deſerved commendation, perſuaded him that his fame, ſpread throughout the world, had procured to him the homage of the Eaſt. He did not content himſelf with the enjoyment of theſe vain honours; but endeavoured to improve the diſpoſitions of the king of Siam to the benefit of the India company, and ſtill more of the miſſionaries. He ſent out a ſquadron in which there were a greater number of Jeſuits than traders; and in the treaty which was concluded between the two kings, the French ambaſſadors, directed by the Jeſuit Tachard, attended much more to the concerns of religion than to thoſe of commerce.

THE company ſtill entertained great hopes of the ſettlement at Siam, and theſe hopes were not ill grounded.

THAT kingdom, though divided by a ridge of mountains that is continued till it meets with the rocks of Tartary, is ſo prodigiouſly fruitful, that many of its cultivated lands yield two hundred times

times more than others. Some will even bear plentiful crops ſpontaneouſly. The corn, collected as it was at firſt produced, without care and without trouble, left as it were to nature, falls off and periſhes in the field where it grew, in order to vegetate again in the waters of the ſtream that flows through the kingdom.

THERE is, perhaps, no country where fruits grow in ſuch plenty and variety, or are ſo wholeſome, as in this delightful ſpot. Some are peculiar to the country; and thoſe which are equally the produce of other countries have a much finer ſmell, and are much higher flavoured, than in any other part of the world.

THE earth, always covered with theſe treaſures, which are conſtantly ſpringing up afreſh, alſo conceals, under a very thin ſurface, mines of gold, copper, loadſtone, iron, lead, and calin, a ſpecies of tin which is highly valued throughout Aſia.

ALL theſe advantages are rendered uſeleſs by the greateſt tyranny. A prince corrupted by his power, while he is indulging in his ſeraglio, oppreſſes his people by his caprices, or ſuffers them to be oppreſſed by his indolence. At Siam there are no ſubjects, all are ſlaves. The men are divided into three claſſes: the firſt ſerve as a guard to the monarch, till his lands, and are employed in different manufactures in his palace. The ſecond are appointed to public labours, and to the defence of the ſtate. The third claſs are deſtined to ſerve the magiſtrates, the miniſters, and principal officers of the kingdom. No Siameſe is advanced to any eminent

nent poſt, but he is allowed a certain number of men who are at his diſpoſal; ſo that the ſalaries annexed to great officers are well paid at the court of Siam, becauſe they are not paid in money, but in men, who coſt the prince nothing. Theſe unfortunate people are regiſtered at the age of ſixteen. Every one on the firſt ſummons muſt repair to the poſt aſſigned him, upon pain of being put in irons, or condemned to the baſtinado.

In a country where all the men muſt work for the government during ſix months in the year, without being paid or ſubſiſted, and the other ſix to earn a maintenance for the whole year; in ſuch a country, the very lands muſt feel the effects of tyranny, and conſequently there is no property. The delicious fruits that enrich the gardens of the monarch and the nobles, are not ſuffered to ripen in thoſe of private men. If the ſoldiers who are ſent out to examine the orchards diſcover ſome tree laden with choice fruits, they never fail to mark it for the tyrant's table, or that of his miniſters. The owner becomes the guardian of it, and is anſwerable for the fruit under very ſevere penalties.

The men are not only ſlaves to men, but to the very beaſts. The king of Siam keeps a great number of elephants. Thoſe of his palace are taken care of, and have extraordinary honours paid to them. The meaneſt have fifteen ſlaves to attend them, who are conſtantly employed in cutting hay, and gathering bananas and ſugar-canes for them. The king takes ſo much pride in theſe creatures, which are of no real uſe, that he eſtimates his

power

power rather by their number than by that of his provinces. Under pretence of feeding theſe animals well, their attendants will drive them into gardens and cultivated lands, that they may trample upon them, unleſs the owners will purchaſe an exemption from theſe hardſhips by continual preſents. No man would dare to incloſe his field againſt the king's elephants, many of whom are decorated with honourable titles, and advanced to the higheſt dignities in the ſtate.

Such various exertions of tyranny make the Siameſe deteſt their native country, though they look upon it as the beſt upon earth. Moſt of them fly from oppreſſion into the foreſts, where they lead a ſavage life, infinitely preferable to that of ſociety corrupted by deſpotiſm. So great is this deſertion, that, from the port of Mergui to Juthia the capital of the empire, one may travel for a week together, without meeting with the leaſt ſign of population, through an immenſe extent of country well watered, the ſoil of which is excellent, and ſtill bears the marks of former culture. This fine country is now over-run with tigers.

It was formerly inhabited by men. Beſides the natives, it was full of ſettlements that had been ſucceſſively formed there by the nations ſituated to the eaſt of Aſia. Their inducement was the immenſe trade carried on there. All hiſtorians atteſt, that in the beginning of the ſixteenth century a great number of ſhips came into their roads every year. The tyranny which prevailed ſoon after, ſucceſſively deſtroyed the mines, the manufactures,

and

and agriculture. All the foreign merchants, and even thoſe of the nation, were involved in the ſame ruin. The ſtate fell into confuſion, and conſequently was weakened. The French, on their arrival, found it thus reduced. General poverty prevailed, and none of the arts were exerciſed; while the people were under the dominion of a deſpotic tyrant, who, engroſſing all the trade to himſelf, muſt of courſe deſtroy it. The few ornaments and articles of luxury that were in uſe at court, and in the houſes of the great, came from Japan. The Siameſe held the Japaneſe in high eſtimation, and preferred their works to all others.

It was no eaſy matter to divert them from this attachment, and yet it was the only way of procuring a demand for the produce of French induſtry. If any thing could effect this change, it was the Chriſtian religion, which the prieſts of the foreign miſſions had preached to them, and not without ſucceſs; but the Jeſuits, too much devoted to Faulkon, who began to be odious, abuſed the favour they enjoyed at Court, and drew upon themſelves the hatred of the people. This odium was transferred from them to their religion. They built churches before there were any chriſtians to frequent them. They founded monaſteries, and by theſe proceedings occaſioned the common people and the Talapoys to revolt. The Talapoys are their monks; ſome of whom lead a ſolitary life, and others are buſy, intriguing men. They preach to the people the doctrines and precepts of Sommona Kodom. That lawgiver of the Siameſe

meſe was long honoured as a ſage, and has ſince been revered as a god, or as an emanation of the deity, a ſon of god. A variety of marvellous ſtories are told of this man: He lived upon one grain of rice a-day. He pulled out one of his eyes to give to a poor man, having nothing elſe to beſtow on him. Another time he gave away his wife. He commanded the ſtars, the rivers, and the mountains. But he had a brother, who frequently oppoſed his deſigns for the good of mankind. God avenged him, and crucified that unhappy brother. This fable prejudiced the Siameſe againſt the religion of a crucified God; and they could not worſhip Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe he died the ſame death as the brother of Sommona Kodom.

If the French could not carry their commodities to Siam, they could at leaſt inſpire the people with a taſte for them, prepare the way for a great trade with this country, and avail themſelves of that which actually offered, to open connections with all the eaſt. The ſituation of that kingdom between two gulphs, where it extends one hundred and ſixty leagues along the ſea-coaſt on the one gulph, and about two hundred on the other, would have opened the navigation of all the ſeas in that part of the world. The fortreſs of Bancoc built at the mouth of the Menan, which had been put into the hands of the French, was an excellent mart for all tranſactions they might have had with China, the Philippines, or any of the eaſtern parts of India. Mergui, the principal port of the kingdom, and one of the beſt in Aſia, which had likewiſe

wiſe been ceded to them, greatly facilitated their trade with the coaſt of Coromandel, and chiefly with Bengal. It ſecured to them an advantageous intercourſe with the kingdoms of Pegu, Ava, Arracan, and Lagos, countries ſtill more barbarous than Siam, but where are found the fineſt rubies and ſome gold duſt. All theſe countries, as well as Siam, produce the tree which yields that valuable gum, with which the Chineſe and Japaneſe make their varniſh; and whoever is in poſſeſſion of this commodity, may be certain of carrying on a very lucrative trade with China and Japan.

Besides the advantage of meeting with good ſettlements, which were no expence to the company, and might throw into their hands a great part of the trade of the eaſt, they might have brought home from Siam, ivory, logwood like that which is cut in the bay of Campeachy, a great deal of caſſia, and all the buffalo and deer-ſkins that the Dutch formerly fetched from thence. They might have grown pepper there, and, poſſibly, other ſpices which were not to be found in the country, as the people did not underſtand the culture of them, and becauſe the wretched inhabitants of Siam are ſo indifferent to every thing, that nothing ſucceeds with them.

The French paid no attention to theſe objects. The factors of the company, the officers, and the Jeſuits, were equally ignorant of trade: the whole attention of the latter was taken up in converting the natives, and making themſelves maſters of them. At laſt, after having given but a weak

aſſiſtance

assistance to Faulkon at the instant when he was ready to execute his designs, they were involved in his disgrace; and the fortresses of Mergui and Bancoc, defended by French troops, were taken from them by the meanest of all nations.

During the short time that the French were settled at Siam, the company endeavoured to establish themselves at Tonquin. They flattered themselves that they might trade with safety and advantage with a nation which had for ages been instructed by the Chinese. Theism prevails among them, which is the religion of Confucius, whose precepts and writings are there held in greater veneration than even in China. But there is not the same agreement as in China in the principles of government, religion, laws, opinion, rites, and ceremonies: and though Tonquin has the same law-giver, it is far from having the same morals. We find there neither that respect for parents, that love for the prince, those reciprocal affections, nor those social virtues, which are met with in China; nor have they the same good order, police, industry, or activity.

This nation, which is devoted to excessive indolence, and is voluptuous without taste or delicacy, lives in constant distrust of its sovereigns and of strangers. It is doubtful whether this mistrust proceeds from a natural restlessness of temper, or whether their spirit of sedition be owing to this circumstance, that the Chinese system of morality has enlightened the people without improving the government. Whatever be the pro-

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BOOK IV.

greſs of knowledge, whether it comes from the people to the government, or from that to the people, it is neceſſary that both ſhould be enlightened at the ſame time, or elſe the ſtate will be expoſed to fatal revolutions. In Tonquin, there is a continual ſtruggle between the eunuchs who govern, and the people who impatiently bear the yoke. Every thing languiſhes and tends to ruin, in conſequence of theſe diſſentions; and the calamities muſt increaſe, till the people have compelled their maſters to grow wiſer, or the maſters have rendered their ſubjects quite inſenſible. The Portugueſe and the Dutch, who had attempted to form ſome connections in Tonquin, had been forced to give them up. The French were not more ſucceſsful. No Europeans have ſince carried on that trade, except ſome few merchants of Madraſs, who have alternately forſaken and reſumed it. They divide with the Chineſe the exportation of copper and ordinary ſilks, the only commodities of any value that country affords.

Cochinchina lay too near Siam not to draw the attention of the French; and they would probably have fixed there, had they had ſagacity enough to foreſee what degree of ſplendour that riſing ſtate would one day acquire. The Europeans are indebted to a philoſophical traveller for what little they know with certainty of that fine country. The following is the reſult of his obſervations:

When the French arrived in thoſe diſtant regions, they learned, that, about half a century before, a prince of Tonquin, as he fled from his ſovereign

ſovereign who purſued him as a rebel, had with his ſoldiers and adherents croſſed the river, which ſerves as a barrier between Tonquin and Cochinchina. The fugitives, who were warlike and civilized men, ſoon expelled the ſcattered inhabitants, who wandered about without any ſociety or form of government, or any laws but that mutual intereſt which prompted them not to injure one another. Here they founded an empire upon the baſis of agriculture and property. Rice was the food the moſt eaſily cultivated, and the moſt plentiful; upon this, therefore, the new coloniſts beſtowed their firſt attention. The ſea and the rivers attracted a number of inhabitants to their borders, by the ſupply of excellent fiſh they afforded. Domeſtic animals were bred there, ſome for food, and others for labour. The inhabitants cultivated the trees they were moſt in want of, ſuch as the cotton for their cloathing. The mountains and foreſts, which could not poſſibly be cultivated, afforded wild fowl, metals, gums, perfumes, and wood of an excellent kind. Theſe productions ſerved as ſo many materials, means, and objects of commerce. One hundred gallies were built, which are conſtantly employed in defending the coaſts of the kingdom.

All theſe ſeveral advantages were well beſtowed upon a people of a mild and humane diſpoſition, a diſpoſition which they partly owe to their women. Whether it be that this influence they acquire is owing to their beauty, or whether it is the particular effect of their aſſiduity and of their ſkill in buſineſs; in general, it is certain, that in the firſt

beginning of all ſocieties, the women are ſooner civilized than the men. Even their weakneſs, and their ſedentary life, their being more taken up with fewer cares, furniſh them ſooner with that knowledge and experience, and incline them to thoſe domeſtic attachments, which are the firſt promoters and ſtrongeſt ties of ſociety. This is, perhaps, the reaſon why, in many ſavage nations, the women are intruſted with the adminiſtration of civil government, which is but a higher degree of domeſtic oeconomy. So long as the ſtate is but as one great family, the women are capable of undertaking the management of it. Then, undoubtedly, the people are happieſt, eſpecially in a climate where nature has left but little for man to do.

Such is the climate of Cochinchina. The people, though but imperfectly civilized, enjoy that happineſs which might excite the envy of more improved ſocieties. They have neither robbers nor beggars. Every one is at liberty to live at his own houſe, or at his neighbour's. A traveller freely enters a houſe in any village, ſits down to table, eats and drinks, without being invited or aſked any queſtions, and then goes away without acknowledging the civility. He is a man, and therefore a friend and relation of the family. If he were a foreigner, he would excite more curioſity, but would be equally welcome.

These cuſtoms are the relics of the government of the firſt ſix kings of Cochinchina, and derived from the original contract entered into between the nation and their leader, before they croſſed the river

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that divides Tonquin from Cochinchina. Theſe men were weary of oppreſſion. They dreaded the like calamity, and therefore took care to guard againſt the abuſe of authority, which is ſo apt to tranſgreſs its due limits, if not kept under ſome reſtraint. Their chief, who had ſet them an example of liberty, and taught them to revolt, promiſed them that felicity which he himſelf choſe to enjoy; that of a juſt, mild, and parental government. He cultivated with them the land in which they had all taken refuge. He never demanded any thing of them, except an annual and voluntary contribution, to enable him to defend the nation againſt the tyrant of Tonquin, who, for a long time, purſued them beyond the river which ſeparated them from him.

THIS primitive contract was religiouſly obſerved for upwards of a century, under five or ſix ſucceſſors of that brave deliverer: but at laſt it has been infringed. The reciprocal and ſolemn engagement between the king and his people is ſtill renewed every year in the face of heaven and earth, in a general aſſembly of the whole nation, held in an open field, where the oldeſt man preſides, and where the king only aſſiſts as a private perſon. He ſtill honours and protects agriculture, but does not, like his predeceſſors, ſet the example of labour to his ſubjects. When he ſpeaks of them, he ſtill ſays, *they are my children*; but they are no longer ſo. His courtiers have ſtiled themſelves his ſlaves, and have given him the pompous and ſacrilegious title of *king of heaven*. From that moment, men muſt have appeared to him but as ſo many inſects

creeping on the ground. The gold which he has taken out of the mines, has put a ſtop to agriculture. He has deſpiſed the homely roof of his anceſtors, and would build a palace. Its circumference has been marked out, and is a league in extent. Thouſands of cannon planted round the walls of this palace, make it formidable to the people. A deſpotic monarch reſides there, who in a ſhort time will be ſecluded from the eyes of the people; and this concealment, which characteriſes the majeſty of eaſtern kings, will ſubſtitute the tyrant to the father of the nation.

The diſcovery of gold has brought on that of taxes; and the adminiſtration of the finances will ſoon take place of civil legiſlation and ſocial contract. Contributions are no longer voluntary, but are extorted. Deſigning men go to the king's palace, and craftily obtain the privilege of plundering the provinces. With gold they at once purchaſe a right of committing crimes and the privilege of impunity; they bribe the courtiers, elude the vigilance of the magiſtrates, and oppreſs the huſbandmen. The traveller already ſees, as he paſſes along, fallow grounds, and whole villages forſaken by their inhabitants. This *king of heaven*, like the gods of Epicurus, careleſsly ſuffers plagues and calamities to vex the land. He is ignorant of the ſufferings and diſtreſſes of his people, who will ſoon fall into a ſtate of annihilation, like the ſavages whoſe territories they now poſſeſs. All nations governed by deſpotiſm muſt inevitably periſh in this manner. If Cochinchina relapſes into

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that ſtate of confuſion out of which it emerged about a hundred and fifty years ago, it will be wholly diſregarded by the navigators who now frequent the ports of that kingdom. The Chineſe, who carry on the greateſt trade there, get in exchange for their own commodities wood for ſmall work, and timber for building houſes and ſhips.

They alſo export from thence an immenſe quantity of ſugar, the raw at four livres * a hundred weight, the white at eight †, and ſugar-candy at ten ‡: very good ſilk, ſattins, and pitre, the fibres of a tree, not unlike the banana, which they fraudulently mix in their manufactures: black and ordinary tea, which ſerves for the conſumption of common people: ſuch excellent cinnamon, that it ſells three or four times dearer than that of Ceylon. There is but a ſmall quantity of this; as it grows only upon one mountain, which is always ſurrounded with guards. Excellent pepper is another article; and ſuch pure iron, that they work it as it comes out of the mine, without ſmelting: gold of three and twenty carrats, which is found there in greater plenty than in any other part of the Eaſt: eagle-wood, which is more or leſs eſteemed as it is more or leſs reſinous. The pieces that contain moſt of this roſin are commonly taken from the heart, or from the root of the tree. They are called calunbac, and are always ſold for their weight in gold to the Chineſe, who account them the higheſt cordial in

* 3s. 6d. † 7s. ‡ 8s. 9d.

nature. They are carefully preſerved in pewter-boxes, to keep them from drying. When they are to be adminiſtered, they are ground upon a marble, with ſuch liquids as are beſt ſuited to the diſorder they are intended to remove. The inferior eagle-wood, which always ſells for a hundred livres * a pound at leaſt, is carried to Perſia, Turkey, and Arabia. They uſe it to perfume their cloaths, and ſometimes their apartments, upon very extraordinary occaſions, and then they mix it with amber. It is alſo uſed for another purpoſe. A cuſtom prevails amongſt theſe nations, when they are deſirous of ſhewing their viſitors great marks of civility, to preſent them with pipes, then with coffee and ſweetmeats. When converſation begins to grow languid, the ſherbet is brought in, which is looked upon as a hint to depart. As ſoon as the ſtranger riſes to go away, they bring in a little pan with eagle-wood, and perfume his beard, ſprinkling it with roſe-water.

THOUGH the French, who had ſcarce any thing elſe to bring but cloth, lead, gunpowder, and brimſtone, were obliged to trade with Cochin-china chiefly in money, yet they were under a neceſſity of purſuing this trade in competition with the Chineſe. This inconvenience might have been obviated by the profit that would have been made upon goods ſent to Europe, or ſold in India; but it is now too late to attempt it. Probity and honeſty, the eſſentials of an active and laſting trade, are forſaking theſe regions, which were formerly

* 4l. 7s. 6d.

ſo

ſo flouriſhing, in proportion as the government becomes arbitrary, and conſequently unjuſt. In a ſhort time no greater number of ſhips will be ſeen in their harbours than in thoſe of the neighbouring ſtates, where they were ſcarcely known.

However this may be, the French company driven from Siam, and without hopes of ſettling at the extremities of Aſia, began to regret their factory at Surat, where they dared not appear again, ſince they had left it without paying their debts. They had loſt the only market they knew of for their cloths, their lead, and their iron; and they were continually at a loſs in the purchaſe of goods to anſwer the capricious demands of the mother country, and the wants of the colonies. By fulfilling all their former engagements, they might have recovered the privilege they had forfeited. The Mogul government, which would have wiſhed to ſee a greater number of ſhips reſorting to Surat, often ſolicited the French to ſatisfy theſe claims; for they preferred them to the Engliſh, who had purchaſed of the court an exemption from all duties. Whether it was for want of honeſty, of ſkill, or of means, certain it is that the company never could remove the reproach they had incurred. They confined their whole attention to the fortifying of Pondicherry, when they were ſuddenly prevented by a bloody war, which was owing to remote cauſes.

The loſs and recovery of Pondicherry, which be-

The northern Barbarians who had overturned the Roman empire, that was miſtreſs of the world, eſtabliſhed a form of government which would

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came the chief settlement in India.

not admit of augmenting their conquests, and kept every state within its natural limits. The abolition of the feudal laws, and the alterations consequent upon it, seemed to tend a second time to establish a kind of universal monarchy; but the Austrian power, weakened by the great extent of its possessions and their distance from each other, could not subvert the bulwarks that were raising against it. After a whole century passed in contests, hopes, and disappointments, it was forced to yield to a nation, whose strength, position, and activity, rendered her more formidable to the liberties of Europe. Richelieu and Mazarine began this revolution by their intrigues. Turenne and Condé completed it by their victories. Colbert settled it by the introduction of arts, and of all kinds of industry. If Lewis XIV. who may be said to have been not, perhaps, the greatest monarch of his age, but one who best supported the dignity of the throne, had been more moderate in the exercise of his power, and the sense of his grandeur, it is difficult to determine how far he might have carried his good fortune. His vanity proved detrimental to his ambition. After bending his own subjects to his will, he wanted to exert power over his neighbours. His pride raised him more enemies than his influence and his genius could supply him with allies and resources.

He was delighted with the flatteries of his panegyrists and courtiers, who promised him universal monarchy; and the pleasure he took in these adulations contributed still more than the extent

of his power to inſpire a dread of univerſal conqueſt and ſlavery. The diſtreſſes and invectives of his proteſtant ſubjects, diſperſed by a tyrannical fanaticiſm, completed the hatred he had incurred by his ſucceſſes, and the abuſe he had made of his proſperity.

The Prince of Orange, a man of a ſteady, upright diſpoſition, and of a penetrating judgment, endowed with every virtue that is conſiſtent with ambition, became the chief inſtigator of all theſe reſentments, which he had long fomented by his negotiations and his emiſſaries. France was attacked by the moſt formidable confederacy recorded in hiſtory, and yet ſhe was conſtantly triumphant.

She was not ſo ſucceſsful in Aſia as in Europe. The Dutch firſt endeavoured to prevail upon the natives to attack Pondicherry, which they could never be compelled to reſtore. The Indian prince, to whom they applied for that purpoſe, was not to be bribed to agree to ſo perfidious a propoſal: His conſtant anſwer was, *The French have bought that place, it would be unjuſt to turn them out.* What the Raja refuſed to do, the Dutch did themſelves: they beſieged the town in 1693, and were obliged to reſtore it at the peace of Ryſwick, in a much better condition than they found it.

Martin was again appointed director, and managed the affairs of the company with that wiſdom, ſkill, and integrity, which was expected from him. That able and virtuous merchant invited many new ſettlers to Pondicherry, and made the place agreeable to them, by the good order he maintained

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maintained there, and by his moderation and juſtice. He acquired the favour of the neighbouring princes, whoſe friendſhip was of conſequence to an infant ſettlement. He choſe or formed good ſubjects, whom he ſent to the markets of Aſia, and to the ſeveral princes of that empire. He had perſuaded the French, that as they were come laſt to India, that as they found themſelves there in a weak condition, and could not expect any aſſiſtance from their own country, that they had no other way of ſucceeding, but by inſpiring the natives with a favourable opinion of their character. He made them lay aſide that levity, and thoſe contemptuous airs, which ſo often make their nation inſufferable to ſtrangers. They grew modeſt, gentle, and attentive to buſineſs; they learned the art of behaving ſuitable to the genius of the ſeveral nations, and to particular circumſtances. Thoſe who did not confine themſelves to the company's ſervice, frequenting different courts, became acquainted with the places where the fineſt ſtuffs were manufactured, the ſtaples where the choiceſt commodities were to be met with, and, in ſhort, with all the particulars relative to the inland trade of every country.

All that Martin had it in his power to accompliſh, was to lay the foundation of future ſucceſs to the company, by the good opinion he gave of the French, by the pains he took to train up agents, by the informations he gained, and by the good order he maintained in Pondicherry, which daily acquired new inhabitants; but all this

this was not ſufficient to reſtore the declining ſtate of the company, ſubject from its infancy to ſuch diſorders as muſt at length certainly deſtroy it.

Decline of the French company, and the cauſe of it.

His firſt ſcheme was to eſtabliſh a great empire at Madagaſcar. A ſingle voyage carried over 1688 perſons, who were made to expect a delightful climate and a rapid fortune, and found nothing but famine, diſcord, and death.

So unfortunate a beginning diſcouraged the adventurers from an undertaking, which they had entered upon merely with a view to follow the example of others, or in compliance with ſolicitations. The owners of ſhares had not made good their payments with ſo much punctuality as is required in commercial affairs. The government, which had engaged to advance without intereſt a fifth part of the ſums the company were to receive, and which as yet was only bound to furniſh two millions *, again drew the ſame ſum out of the public treaſury, in hopes of ſupporting the work it had begun. Some time after its generoſity was carried ſtill further, and freely gave what at firſt was only lent.

This encouragement from the miniſtry could not, however, enable the company to proceed in their deſigns. They were forced to confine them to Surat and Pondicherry; and to abandon their ſettlements at Bantam, Rajapore, Tilſeri, Mazulipatam, Gombroon, and Siam. No doubt they had too many factories, and ſome were ill ſituated; but the inability they were under of ſup-

* 87,500l.

porting

porting them was the only reaſon that they were abandoned.

Soon after this, it became neceſſary to make further advances. In 1682, they gave permiſſion indiſcriminately to French ſubjects and foreigners to trade to the Eaſt-Indies for five years on the company's ſhips, paying the freight that ſhould be agreed upon; and on condition that the goods brought home ſhould be depoſited in the company's warehouſes, ſold at the ſame time with theirs, and be ſubject to a duty of five *per cent.* The public ſo eagerly came into this propoſal, that the directors entertained great hopes from the increaſe of theſe ſmall profits, which would be conſtant without any riſque. But the proprietors, leſs ſenſible of theſe moderate advantages, than jealous of the great profits made by the free traders, in two years time obtained a repeal of this regulation, and their charter remained in full force.

To ſupport this monopoly with ſome decency, a fund was wanting. In 1684, the company obtained from government a call upon all the proprietors, amounting to a fourth part of their property; and in caſe any one failed to pay the ſum required, his whole ſhare was to be made over to any one who ſhould pay it for him. Whether from perverſeneſs, from particular motives, or from inability, many did not pay, ſo that their ſhares loſt three fourths of their original value; and, to the diſgrace of the nation, there were men barbarous and unjuſt enough to enrich themſelves with their ſpoils.

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An expedient ſo diſhonourable enabled them to fit out a few ſhips for Aſia; but new wants were ſoon felt. Their cruel ſituation, which continually grew worſe, put them upon demanding of the proprietors in 1697, the reſtitution of the dividends of ten and twenty per cent. which they had received in 1687 and 1691. So extraordinary a propoſal raiſed a general clamour. The company were obliged to have recourſe to the uſual method of borrowing. Theſe loans became more burdenſome, the more they were multiplied, as the ſecurity was more precarious.

As the company was in want both of money and credit, the emptineſs of their coffers put it out of their power to afford thoſe advantages and that encouragement to the merchant in India, without which he will neither work, nor ſet others to work. This inability reduced the French ſales to nothing. It is demonſtrable, that from 1664 to 1684, that is, in the ſpace of twenty years, the ſum total of their produce did not exceed nine millions one hundred thouſand livres *.

To theſe had been added other abuſes. The conduct of the adminiſtrators and agents for the company had not been properly directed, or carefully looked into. The capital had been broken into, and dividends paid out of the ſtock, which ought only to have ariſen from the profits. The leaſt brilliant and leaſt proſperous of all reigns had exhibited a model for a commercial company. The trade to China, the eaſieſt, the ſafeſt, and

* 398,125l.

the

the moſt advantageous that is carried on with Aſia, had been given up to a particular body of merchants.

THE bloody war of 1689 added to the calamities of the India company, even by the very ſucceſſes of France. Swarms of privateers, fitted out from the ſeveral harbours in the kingdom, annoyed by their vigilance and bravery the trade of Holland and England. In their numberleſs prizes were found a prodigious quantity of India goods, which were retailed at a low price. The company, who by this competition were forced to ſell under prime coſt, endeavoured to find out ſome expedient to ſave themſelves from this danger, but could think of none that was reconcileable with the intereſt of the privateers; nor did the miniſter think proper to ſacrifice an uſeful ſet of men to a body, which had ſo long wearied him with their murmurs and complaints.

BESIDES theſe, the company had many more cauſes of diſcontent. The financiers had ſhewn an open hatred for them, and were continually oppoſing or confining them. Supported by thoſe vile aſſociates which they always have at court, they endeavoured to put an end to the India trade, under the ſpecious pretence of encouraging the home manufactures. The government was at firſt afraid of being expoſed to reproach, by departing from the principles of Colbert, and repealing the moſt ſolemn edicts: but the farmers of the revenue found means to render thoſe privileges uſeleſs, which the miniſtry would not aboliſh;

aboliſh; and the company no longer enjoyed, without being abſolutely deprived of them.

HEAVY duties were ſucceſſively laid upon all India goods. Half a year ſeldom paſſed, without ſome new regulation, ſometimes to allow, ſometimes to prohibit, the uſe of theſe commodities: there was a continued ſcene of contradictions in a part of adminiſtration, that would have required ſteady and invariable principles. All theſe variations gave Europe room to think that trade would hardly be eſtabliſhed in a kingdom where all depends upon the caprices of a miniſter, or the intereſt of thoſe who govern.

THE conduct of an ignorant and corrupt adminiſtration, the levity and impatience of the proprietors, the intereſted views of the comptrollers of finance, the oppreſſive ſpirit of the treaſury, joined to other cauſes, had prepared the ruin of the company. The miſeries of the war, carried on for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, haſtened their deſtruction.

EVERY reſource was exhauſted. The moſt ſanguine ſaw no proſpect of their being able to ſend out a fleet. Beſides, if by unexpected good fortune ſome few weak veſſels ſhould be fitted out, it was to be feared they might be ſeized in Europe, or in India, by diſappointed creditors, who muſt neceſſarily be exaſperated. Theſe powerful motives determined the company in 1707, to conſent that ſome rich merchants ſhould ſend their own ſhips to India, upon condition that they ſhould allow the company fifteen per cent. profit upon the goods they ſhould bring home, and the right of taking ſuch ſhare in thoſe ſhips as their circumſtances ſhould admit of.

Soon

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Soon after this, they were even reduced to make over the whole and excluſive exerciſe of their privilege to ſome privateers of St. Malo, ſtill reſerving the ſame conceſſion, which for ſome years paſt had in ſome degree kept them from ruin.

NOTWITHSTANDING this deſperate ſituation, in 1714 they ſolicited the renewal of their charter, which was nearly expired, and which they had enjoyed for half a century. The miniſtry, who did not know, or would not perceive, that meaſures more prudential might be adopted, granted them an indulgence for ten years longer. This new regulation took place but in part, in conſequence of ſome extraordinary events, the cauſes of which we ſhall next inquire into.

The French company recovers ſomething of its ancient ſplendour by Law's ſyſtem; but ſoon relapſes into obſcurity.

WHOEVER has been accuſtomed to trace the progreſs of empires, has always conſidered the death of Colbert as the event that put an end to the true proſperity of France. She ſtill appeared with ſome outward ſplendour, but her inward decay increaſed daily. Her finances, adminiſtered without order or principle, fell a prey to a multitude of rapacious farmers of the revenue. Theſe people made themſelves neceſſary even by their plunders, and went ſo far as to impoſe terms to government. The confuſion, uſury, and continual alterations in the coin, the reductions of intereſt, the alienations of the domain and of the taxes, engagements which it was impoſſible to fulfil, the creation of penſions and places, the privileges and exemptions of all kinds, and a thouſand other evils, each more ruinous than

than the other, were the consequences of so corrupt an administration.

The loss of credit soon became universal. Bankruptcies were more frequent. Money grew scarce, and trade was at a stand. The consumption was less. The culture of lands was neglected. Artists went over to foreign countries. The common people had neither food nor cloathing. The nobility served in the army without pay, and mortgaged their lands. All orders of men groaned under the weight of taxes, and were in want of the necessaries of life. The royal effects had lost their value. The contracts upon the *hotel de ville* sold but for half their worth, and the bills of sale fell eighty or ninety per cent. under par. Lewis XIV. a little before his death, was in great want of eight millions *; and was forced to give bonds for 32,000,000 †, which was borrowing at four hundred per cent.

In this confusion were public affairs, when the Duke of Orleans took the reins of government. Those who were for violent measures, proposed to sacrifice the creditors of the state to the landholders, as the former were in proportion to the latter but as one to six hundred. The regent refused to come into a measure that would have stamped an indelible stain upon his administration. He preferred an inquiry into the public engagements to a total bankruptcy.

Notwithstanding the reduction of 600,000,000 ‡ of stock to bearer, to 250,000,000 § of govern-

* 350,000l. † 1,400,000l. ‡ 26,250,000l. § 10,937,500l.

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ment bonds, the national debt amounted to 262,138,001 livres * at twenty-eight livres † the mark, the intereſt of which, at four per cent. amounted to 89,983,453 livres ‡.

THIS enormous debt, which nearly abſorbed the whole of the public revenue, ſuggeſted the idea of appointing a bed of juſtice, to call thoſe to account who had been the authors of the public calamities, and had enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the nation. This inquiry only ſerved to expoſe to public view the incapacity of the miniſters who had been intruſted with the management of the finances, the craft of the farmers of the revenue who had ſwallowed them up, and the baſeneſs of the courtiers who had ſold their intereſt to the firſt bidder. By this experiment, honeſt minds were confirmed in the abhorrence they always had for ſuch a tribunal. It degrades the dignity of the prince who fails to fulfil his engagements, and expoſes to the people the vices of a corrupt adminiſtration. It is injurious to the rights of the citizen, who is accountable for his actions to none but the law. It ſtrikes terror into the rich, who are marked out as delinquents, merely becauſe they are rich, be their fortunes well or ill gotten. It gives encouragement to informers, who point out as fit objects for tyranny ſuch as it may be advantageous to ruin. It is compoſed of unmerciful leeches, who ſee guilt wherever they ſuſpect there is money. It ſpares plunderers, who find means to ſecrete their wealth in time; and ſpoils honeſt

* 90,218,537 l. 11 s. † 1 l. 4 s. 6 d. ‡ 3,936,776 l. 1 s. 4 d. ½.

men

men who think themſelves ſecure in their innocence. It ſacrifices the intereſts of the treaſury to the whims of a few greedy, profligate, and extravagant favourites.

While France was exhibiting to all Europe the cruel and diſgraceful ſpectacle of theſe complicated evils, a Scotch empiric arrived at Paris, who for ſome time had been travelling about, and making a diſplay of his talents, hurried on by his own reſtleſs diſpoſition. His fiery genius and peremptory manner were capable of bearing down every argument, and ſurmounting every difficulty. In 1716 he ſuggeſted the idea of a bank, the ſucceſs of which confounded his opponents, and even exceeded his own expectations. With ninety millions * that the Weſt India company furniſhed towards this bank, it gave new life to agriculture, to trade, to arts; in ſhort, to the whole nation. The author was extolled as an accurate, extenſive, and elevated genius, who deſpiſed fortune, aimed only at glory, and wanted to tranſmit his name to poſterity by great actions. Such was the gratitude of the public, that he was thought to deſerve the higheſt honours. This aſtoniſhing proſperity gave him an unlimited authority. He made uſe of it in 1719 to unite the Eaſt and Weſt India companies, as likewiſe thoſe of Africa and China, into one body. Commercial ſchemes were the leaſt concern of the new ſociety. They carried their ambition ſo far as to pretend to pay off all the national debt. The government granted them

* 3,937,500 l.

the ſole vending of tobacco, the mint, the receipts, and general farms, to enable them to purſue ſo grand a project.

At firſt, Law's ſchemes met with univerſal approbation. Six hundred and twenty-four thouſand ſhares, moſtly bought with government bills, and which upon an average did not really coſt 500 livres *, roſe to 10,000 livres †, payable in bank notes. Such was the infatuation of the public, that not only Frenchmen, but foreigners, and even the moſt ſenſible people, ſold their ſtock, their lands, their jewels, to play this extraordinary game. Gold and ſilver were held in no eſtimation; and nothing but paper currency was ſought after.

This frenzy multiplied paper credit to ſuch an amazing degree, that it circulated to the amount of 6,138,243,590 livres ‡, in ſhares of India ſtock, or in bank notes, though there was actually in the kingdom no more than twelve hundred millions § in ſpecie, at ſixty livres a mark ‖.

Such diſproportion might poſſibly have been ſupported in a free nation, where it had been brought on by degrees. The citizens, accuſtomed to conſider the nation as a permanent and independent body, truſt to its ſecurity the more readily, as they are ſeldom thoroughly acquainted with its powers, and have a good opinion of its equity founded on experience. Upon the ſtrength

* 21l. 17s. 6d. † 437l. 10s. ‡ 268,548,157l. 1s. 3d.
§ 52,500,000l. ‖ 2l. 12s. 6d.

of

of this favourable prejudice, credit is often ſtretched in thoſe ſtates beyond the real reſources and ſecurities of the nation. This is not the caſe in an abſolute monarchy, eſpecially ſuch as have often broken their engagements. If in times of public infatuation an implicit confidence is ſhewn, the effect ceaſes with the cauſe. Their inſolvency becomes evident. The honeſty of the monarch, the mortgage, the ſtock, every thing appears imaginary. The creditor, recovered from his delirium, demands his money with a degree of impatience proportionable to his uneaſineſs. The hiſtory of the ſyſtem will corroborate this truth.

In order to anſwer the firſt demands, the government had recourſe to very extraordinary expedients. Gold was prohibited in trade; all perſons were forbidden to keep by them more than five hundred livres * in ſpecie. An edict was publiſhed, declaring ſeveral ſucceſſive diminutions in the value of the coin. This had the deſired effect; people were now not ſo anxious to draw their money from the bank; on the contrary, in leſs than a month they brought in ſpecie to the amount of forty-four million ſix hundred ninety-ſix thouſand one hundred and ninety livres † in ſpecie, at eighty livres ‡ a mark.

As this infatuation could not be laſting, it was judged expedient to leſſen the diſproportion between paper-currency and money, by reducing the bank bills to half their value, and the ſhares

* 21l. 17s. 6d. † 1,955,458l. 6s. 3d. ‡ 3l. 10s.

to five-ninths. The ſtandard for the coin was fixed at eighty-two livres ten ſols * a mark. This ſcheme, the moſt rational, perhaps, that could have been deviſed in the critical ſituation of affairs, completed the general confuſion. The conſternation was univerſal; every one imagined he had loſt half his fortune, and haſtened to call in the remainder. The bank had no ſtock, and the ſtock-brokers found they had only been graſping at ſhadows. The foreigners, who had realized their paper at firſt, and carried off one-third of the ready money of the kingdom, were the leaſt loſers. The hopes which the government had conceived of paying off the national debt diſappeared with Law; and there remained no laſting monument of the ſyſtem, but an India company, whoſe ſhares were fixed by the liquidation of 1723, to the number of fifty-ſix thouſand, but by ſubſequent events were reduced to fifty thouſand two hundred ſixty-eight and four-tenths.

Unfortunately it preſerved the privileges of the ſeveral companies out of which it had been formed; and this prerogative added neither to its wiſdom or power: it confined the negro-trade, and ſtopped the progreſs of the ſugar colonies. Moſt of its privileges ſerved only to authoriſe odious monopolies. The moſt fertile regions upon earth, when occupied by the company, were neither peopled nor cultivated. The ſpirit of finance, which reſtrains purſuits as much as the commercial ſpirit enlarges them, became the

* 3l. 12s. 2d. $\frac{1}{4}$.

ſpirit

ſpirit of the company, and has continued ever ſince. The directors thought only of turning to their own advantage the rights ceded to the company in Aſia, Africa, and America. It became a ſociety of contractors, rather than a trading company. Nothing could poſſibly be ſaid in praiſe of their adminiſtration, had they not been ſo honeſt as to pay off the debts accumulated in India for a century paſt; and taken care to ſecure Pondicherry againſt any invaſion, by ſurrounding it with walls. Their trade was but ſmall and precarious till Orry was appointed to ſuperintend the finances of the nation.

Great ſucceſs of the French in India.

THAT upright and diſintereſted miniſter ſullied his virtues by a harſhneſs of temper which he apologized for in a manner not much to the credit of the nation. One day that a friend was reproaching him for the roughneſs of his manners, he anſwered, *How can I behave otherwiſe? Out of a hundred people I ſee in a day, fifty take me for a fool, and fifty for a knave.* He had a brother named Fulvy, who was leſs rigid in his principles, but had more affability, and greater capacity. He intruſted him with the concerns of the company, which could not but flouriſh under ſuch a direction.

NOTWITHSTANDING the former prejudices and thoſe which ſtill prevailed; notwithſtanding the abhorrence the public had for any remains of Law's ſyſtem; notwithſtanding the authority of the Sorbonne, which had decided that the dividend upon the ſhares came under the denomina-

tion of uſury; notwithſtanding the blindneſs of a nation credulous enough not to be ſhocked at ſo abſurd a deciſion; yet ſtill the two brothers found means to convince Cardinal Fleury, that it was proper to ſupport the India Company in an effectual manner. They even prevailed upon that miniſter, who was ſometimes too parſimonious, to laviſh the king's favours upon this eſtabliſhment. The care of ſuperintending its trade and increaſing its powers was afterwards committed to ſeveral perſons of known abilities.

Dumas was ſent to Pondicherry. He ſoon obtained leave of the court of Dehli to coin money; which privilege was worth four or five hundred thouſand livres * a year. He obtained a ceſſion of the territory of Karical, which entitled him to a conſiderable ſhare in the trade of Tanjour. Some time after, a hundred thouſand Marattas invaded the Decan. They attacked the Nabob of Arcot, who was vanquiſhed and ſlain. His family and ſeveral of his ſubjects took refuge in Pondicherry. They were received with all the kindneſs due to allies in diſtreſs. Ragogi Bouſſola, the general of the victorious army, demanded, that they ſhould be delivered up to him; and further required the payment of 1,200,000 livres † by virtue of a tribute, which he pretended the French had formerly ſubmitted to.

Dumas made anſwer, That ſo long as the Moguls had been maſters of that country, they had always treated the French with the reſpect due to

* About 19,700l. on an average. † 52,500l.

one

one of the moſt illuſtrious nations in the world, which took a pride in her turn in protecting her benefactors; that it was contrary to the character of that magnanimous nation to deliver up a number of women and children, and of unfortunate and defenceleſs men, to ſee them put to death; that the fugitives then in the town were under the protection of his king, who eſteemed it his higheſt honour to be the protector of the diſtreſſed; that every Frenchman in Pondicherry would gladly die in their defence; and that his own life was forfeited, if his ſovereign were to know that he had ſo much as liſtened to the mention of a tribute. He added, that he was ready to defend the place to the laſt extremity; and if he was overpowered, he would get on board his ſhips, and return to Europe: that Rogogi might conſider whether he choſe to expoſe his army to utter deſtruction, when the greateſt advantage that could be obtained by it was to take poſſeſſion of a heap of ruins.

The Indians had not been accuſtomed to hear the French talk with ſo much dignity. This boldneſs ſtaggered the general of the Marattas; and, after ſome negotiations ſkilfully carried on, he determined to keep peace with Pondicherry.

Whilst Dumas was procuring wealth and reſpect to the company, the government ſent la Bourdonnais to the Iſle of France.

The Portugueſe, at the time of their firſt voyages to India, had diſcovered to the eaſt of Madagaſcar, between the 19th and 20th degrees of latitude, three iſlands, to which they gave the names of Maſcarenhas,

carenhas, Cerné, and Rodrigue. There they found neither men nor quadrupeds, and attempted no ſettlement upon either of the iſlands. The moſt weſtern of them, which had been call Maſcarenhas, ſerved as a refuge about the year 1665 to ſome Frenchmen, who before were ſettled at Madagaſcar. There they found an extent of ſixty miles in length, and forty-five in breadth, full of mountains, and but few plains. At firſt they bred cattle, and afterwards they cultivated European corn, Aſiatic and African fruits, and ſome vegetables fit for that mild climate. The health, plenty, and freedom they enjoyed, induced ſeveral ſailors belonging to the ſhips that touched there for refreſhments, to come and live amongſt them. Induſtry brought on population. In 1718, they procured ſome coffee-trees from Arabia, which ſucceeded tolerably well, though the fruit had loſt much of its flavour. This culture and other laborious employments were performed by ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa, or from Madagaſcar. Then the iſland, which had changed its name from Maſcarenhas to the iſle of Bourbon, became an important object to the company. In 1763, the population amounted to 4627 white people, and 15149 blacks; the cattle conſiſted of 8702 beeves, 4084 ſheep, 7405 goats, 7619 hogs. Upon an extent of 125,909 acres of cultivated land, they gathered as much caſſava as would feed their ſlaves, 1135000 pounds weight of corn, 844100 pounds of rice, 2879100 pound of maize, and

2535100

2535100 pounds of coffee, which the company bought up at ſix ſols * a pound.

UNFORTUNATELY this valuable poſſeſſion has no harbour. This inconvenience determined the French to attempt a ſettlement on the iſland of Cerné, where the Portuguſe had, as uſual, left ſome quadrupeds and fowls for the benefit of ſuch of their ſhips as ſhould chance to touch there. The Dutch, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of it, forſook it from an apprehenſion of multiplying their ſettlements too much. The iſland was uninhabited when the French landed there in 1720, and changed its name from Mauritius to the Iſle of France, which it ſtill bears.

THE firſt people that were ſent thither, came over from Bourbon, and there they were forgotten for fifteen years. They only formed as it were a corps de garde, with orders to hang out a French flag, to inform all nations that the iſland had a maſter. The company, long undetermined, decided at laſt for the keeping it, and in 1735 la Bourdonnais was commiſſioned to improve it.

THIS man, who has ſince been ſo famous, was born at St. Malo, and had been at ſea from the age of ten years; all his voyages had been proſperous, and in every one he had ſignalized himſelf by ſome extraordinary action. He had reconciled the Arabs and the Portugueſe, who were preparing to maſſacre one another in the road of Mocha: and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war at Mahé. He was the firſt Frenchman who

* About 3d.

ever

ever thought of ſending armed veſſels into the Indian ſeas. He was known to be equally ſkilful in the art of ſhip-building, as in that of navigating and defending a ſhip. His ſchemes bore the mark of genius, nor were his views contracted by the cloſe attention he paid to all the minute particulars of whatever ſcheme he undertook. Difficulties did but quicken his activity, and diſplay his talent for diſpoſing the men under his command to the beſt advantage. Nothing was ever laid to his charge but an immoderate paſſion for riches; and it muſt be confeſſed he was not over-ſcrupulous as to the means of acquiring them.

He was no ſooner arrived at the Iſle of France, than he made it his buſineſs to acquire every information he could concerning it. He found it to be 31890 toiſes in its greateſt diameter, 22124 in its greateſt breadth, and 432680 acres in ſurface. The greateſt part of this ground was covered with foreſts almoſt impenetrable, and with mountains not exceeding 400 toiſes in height. Moſt of them were full of reſervoirs of water, which poured down in ſtreams upon a dark grey earth, full of perforations, and for the moſt part ſtony.

The ſea coaſt was what la Bourdonnais chiefly attended to; and his principal obſervations related to the two harbours he found there. He thought the harbour on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of little conſequence, on account of the regular and high winds, which make it impoſſible, or at leaſt very difficult, to ſail out of it at any ſeaſon of the year. That on the north-weſt he found far preferable, though the

ſhips muſt get to it through a narrow channel, between two flats, and then be towed in, and though it will ſcarcely admit above thirty-five or forty ſhips.

As ſoon as la Bourdonnais had procured theſe neceſſary informations, he endeavoured to inſtil a ſpirit of emulation into the firſt coloniſts on the iſland, who were entirely diſcouraged at the neglect with which they had been treated, and attempted to reduce to ſome ſubordination the vagrants lately arrived from the mother country. He made them cultivate rice and wheat, for the good of the Europeans, and caſſava, which he had brought from Brazil, for the ſlaves. They were to be furniſhed from Madagaſcar with meat for the daily conſumption of the richer inhabitants and of ſea-faring men, till the cattle they had procured from thence ſhould multiply ſo conſiderably, as to prevent the neceſſity of importing any more. A poſt which he had eſtabliſhed on the little iſland of Rodrigue, abundantly ſupplied the poor with turtle. Here ſhips going to India ſoon found all the refreſhments and conveniencies they wanted after a tedious paſſage. Three ſhips were fitted out, one of which carried 500 tons burden. If the founder had not the ſatisfaction of bringing the colony to the utmoſt degree of proſperity it was capable of, at leaſt he had the credit of having diſcovered what degree of importance it might acquire in able hands.

These improvements, however, though they ſeemed to be owing to enchantment, did not meet with the approbation of thoſe who were principally concerned in them, and la Bourdonnais was compelled

compelled to juſtify himſelf. One of the directors was aſking him one day how it happened that he had conducted the affairs of the company ſo ill, while he had taken ſo much care of his own. *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *I have managed mine according to my own judgment, and thoſe of the company according to your directions.*

GREAT men have been always more uſeful to the public, than large collective bodies. Nations and ſocieties are but the inſtruments of men of genius; theſe have been the true founders of ſtates and colonies. Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England, owe their foreign conqueſts and ſettlements to able warriors, experienced ſeamen, and legiſlators of ſuperior talents. France eſpecially is more indebted to ſome fortunate individuals for the glory ſhe has acquired, than to the form of her government. One of theſe ſuperior men had juſt eſtabliſhed the power of France over two important iſlands in Africa; another ſtill more extraordinary, whoſe name was Dupleix, added ſplendour to the French name in Aſia.

HE was firſt ſent to the banks of the Ganges, where he ſuperintended the colony of Chandernagore. That ſettlement, though formed in a part of the globe the beſt adapted for great commercial undertakings, had been but in a languid ſtate, till he took the management of it. The company was not able to ſend any great ſtock; and the agents, who went over there without any of their own, had not been able to avail themſelves of the liberty that was allowed them of advancing their own

own private affairs. The activity of the new governor, who brought an ample fortune, the reward of ten years ſucceſsful labours, ſoon ſpread throughout the colony. In a country abounding with money they ſoon found credit, when once they ſhewed themſelves deſerving of it. In a ſhort time, Chandernagore excited the admiration of its neighbours, and the envy of its rivals. Dupleix, who had engaged the reſt of the French in his vaſt ſpeculations, opened freſh ſources of commerce all over the Mogul's Dominions, and as far as Thibet. On his arrival he had not found a ſingle ſloop, and he fitted out fifteen armed veſſels at once. Theſe ſhips carried on trade in different places in India. Some he ſent to the Red Sea, to the Gulph of Perſia, to Surat, to Goa, to the Maldives, and Manilla Iſlands, and to all the ſeas where there was a poſſibility of trading to advantage.

Dupleix had for twelve years ſupported the honour of the French name on the Ganges, and increaſed the revenues of the public as well as the private fortunes of individuals, when he was called to Pondicherry, to take upon him the general ſuperintendency of all the company's affairs in India. They were then in a more flouriſhing condition than they had ever yet been, or have ever been ſince; for that year the returns amounted to twenty-four millions *. Had they continued to act prudently, had they confided more in two ſuch men as Dupleix and la Bourdonnais, they would

* 1,050,000l.

probably

probably have acquired ſuch power as would not have been eaſily deſtroyed.

La Bourdonnais ſaw an approaching rupture with England; and propoſed a ſcheme which would have ſecured to the French the ſovereignty of the ſeas in Aſia, during the whole courſe of the war. He was convinced, that whichever nation ſhould firſt take up arms in India, would have a manifeſt advantage over the other. He therefore deſired to have a ſquadron, with which he ſhould ſail to the Iſle of France, and there wait till hoſtilities began. From this place he was to go and cruize in the ſtraits of Sunda, where moſt of the ſhips paſs that are going to, or coming from China. There he would have intercepted all the Engliſh ſhips, and ſaved thoſe of the French. He would have even taken the ſmall ſquadron which England ſent into thoſe very latitudes; and, having thus made himſelf maſter of the Indian ſeas, would have ruined all the Engliſh ſettlements in thoſe parts.

The miniſtry approved of this plan, and granted him five men of war, with which he ſet ſail.

He had ſcarcely ſet ſail, when the directors, equally offended at their being kept in the dark as to the deſtination of the ſquadron, and at the expences it had occaſioned them, and jealous of the advantage this would give to a man who, in their opinion, was already too independent, exclaimed againſt this armament as they had done before, and declared it to be uſeleſs. They were, or pretended to be, ſo fully convinced of the neutrality that would be obſerved in India between

tween the two companies, that they perſuaded the miniſter into that opinion, when la Bourdonnais was no longer preſent to animate him, and guide his inexperience.

THE court of Verſailles was not aware that a power, ſupported chiefly by trade, would not eaſily be induced to leave them in quiet poſſeſſion of the Indian ocean; and that, if ſhe either made or liſtened to any propoſals of neutrality, it muſt be only to gain time. It was not aware that, even ſuppoſing ſuch an agreement was made *bona fide* on both ſides, a thouſand unforeſeen events might interrupt it. It was not aware, that the object propoſed could never be fully anſwered, becauſe the ſea-forces of both nations, not being bound by any private agreement made between two companies, would attack their ſhips in the European ſeas. It was not aware, that in the colonies themſelves they would make preparations to guard againſt a ſurprize; that theſe precautions would create a miſtruſt on both ſides; and that miſtruſt would bring on an open rupture. All theſe particulars were not perceived by the court, and the ſquadron was recalled. Hoſtilities began; and the loſs of almoſt every French ſhip going to India, ſhewed too late which of the two was the moſt judicious ſyſtem of politics.

LA BOURDONNAIS was as deeply affected for the errors that had occaſioned the misfortunes of the nation, as if he had been guilty of them himſelf, and applied wholly to remedy them. Without magazines, without proviſions, without

money, he found means by his atttention and perſeverance to form a ſquadron, compoſed of a ſixty-gun ſhip, and five merchantmen, which he turned into men of war. He ventured to attack the Engliſh ſquadron; he beat them, purſued and forced them to quit the coaſt of Coromandel; he then beſieged and took Madraſs, the firſt of the Engliſh ſettlements. The victor was preparing for freſh expeditions, which were certain and eaſy; but he met with the moſt violent oppoſition, which not only occaſioned the loſs of the ſum of 9,057,000 livres * he had ſtipulated for as the ranſom of the city, but alſo deprived him of the ſucceſs which muſt neceſſarily have followed his undertakings.

The company was then governed by two of the king's commiſſaries, who were irreconcileable enemies to each other. The directors and the inferior officers had taken part in the quarrel, according as their inclination or their intereſt led them. The two factions were extremely incenſed againſt each other. That which had cauſed la Bourdonnais's ſquadron to be taken from him, was enraged to ſee that he had found reſources in himſelf, to ward off every blow that was aimed at him. There is good reaſon to believe, that this faction purſued him to India, and inſtilled the poiſon of jealouſy into the heart of Dupleix. Two men formed to eſteem and love each other, to adorn the French name, and to deſcend together to poſterity, became the vile tools of an animoſity

* 396,243l. 15s.

in

in which they were not the leaſt intereſted. Dupleix oppoſed la Bourdonnais, and made him loſe much time. The latter, after having ſtaid too long on the coaſt of Coromandel, waiting for the ſuccours which had been unneceſſarily delayed, ſaw his ſquadron deſtroyed by a ſtorm. The crews were diſpoſed to mutiny. So many misfortunes, brought-on by the intrigues of Dupleix, determined la Bourdonnais to return to Europe, where a horrid dungeon was the reward of all his glorious ſervices, and the end of all the hopes which the nation had built upon his great talents. The Engliſh, delivered from that formidable enemy in India, and conſiderably reinforced, found themſelves in a condition to attack the French in their turn, and accordingly laid ſiege to Pondicherry.

Dupleix then made amends for paſt errors. He defended the town with great ſkill and bravery; and after the trenches had been opened ſix weeks, the Engliſh were forced to raiſe the ſiege. The news of the peace arrived ſoon after, and all hoſtilities ceaſed between the companies of both nations.

The taking of Madraſs, la Bourdonnais's engagement at ſea, and the raiſing of the ſiege of Pondicherry, gave the Indian nations a high opinion of the French; and they were reſpected in thoſe parts as the firſt and greateſt of the European powers.

Dupleix endeavoured to avail himſelf of this diſpoſition, and took care to procure laſting and important advantages for his nation. In order to judge rightly of his projects, we muſt lay before

BOOK IV.

the reader a deſcription of the ſtate of Indoſtan at that time.

View of the French to aggrandize themſelves.

Account of Indoſtan.

If we may credit uncertain tradition, that fine rich country tempted the firſt conquerors of the world. But whether Bacchus, Hercules, Seſoſtris, or Darius, did or did not carry their arms through that large portion of the globe, certain it is, that it proved an inexhauſtible fund of fictions and wonders to the antient Greeks. That people, ever credulous, becauſe they were carried away by their imagination, were ſo enchanted with theſe marvelous ſtories, that they ſtill gave credit to them, even in the more enlightened ages of the republic.

If we conſider this matter according to the principles of reaſon and truth, we ſhall find that a pure air, wholeſome food, and great frugality, had early multiplied men to a prodigious degree in Indoſtan. They were acquainted with laws, civil government and arts; whilſt the reſt of the earth was deſert and ſavage. Wiſe and beneficial inſtitutions preſerved theſe people from corruption, and their only care was to enjoy the gifts of the earth and of the climate. If from time to time their morals were tainted in ſome of theſe ſtates, the empire was immediately ſubverted; and when Alexander entered theſe regions, he found very few kings, and many free cities.

A country divided into numberleſs little ſtates, ſome of which were popular, and others enſlaved, could not make a very formidable reſiſtance againſt the hero of Macedonia. His progreſs was rapid, and he would have ſubdued the whole country,

had not death overtaken him in the midſt of his triumphs.

By following this conqueror in his expeditions, the Indian Sandrocotus had learned the art of war. This obſcure man, who had nothing to recommend him but his talents, collected a numerous army, and drove the Macedonians out of the provinces they had invaded. The deliverer of his country then made himſelf maſter of it, and united all Indoſtan under his dominion. How long he reigned, or what was the duration of the empire he had founded, is not known.

At the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs over-ran India, as they did many other parts of the world. They ſubjected ſome few iſlands to their dominion; but, content with trading peaceably on the continent, they made but few ſettlements on it.

Three centuries after this, ſome barbarians of their religion, who came out from Khoraſſan headed by Mahmoud, attacked India on the north ſide, and extended their depredations as far as Guzarat. They carried off immenſe ſpoils from thoſe wealthy provinces, and buried them under ground in their wretched and barren deſerts.

These calamities were not yet forgotten, when Gingis-Khan, who with his Tartars had ſubdued the greateſt part of Aſia, brought his victorious army to the weſtern borders of India. This was about the year 1200. It is not known what part this conqueror and his deſcendents took in the affairs of Indoſtan. Probably, they did not concern themſelves much about them; for it appears,

that ſoon after the Patans reigned over this fine country.

THESE are ſaid to have been Arabian merchants ſettled on the coaſts of Indoſtan, who, taking advantage of the weakneſs of the ſeveral kings and nations who had admitted them, eaſily ſeized upon many provinces, and founded a vaſt empire, of which Delhi was the capital. Under their dominion India was happy, becauſe men educated to trade were not influenced by that ſpirit of devaſtation and rapine which commonly attends invaders.

THE Indians had ſcarce had time to accuſtom themſelves to a foreign yoke, when they were once more forced to change maſters. Tamerlane, who came from Great Tartary, and was already famous for his cruelties and his victories, advanced to the north ſide of Indoſtan, at the end of the fourteenth century, with a well-diſciplined and triumphant army, inured to all the hardſhips of war. He ſecured the northern provinces himſelf, and abandoned the plunder of the ſouthern ones to his lieutenants. He ſeemed determined to ſubdue all India, when on a ſudden he turned his arms againſt Bajazet, overcame and dethroned that prince, and by the union of all his conqueſts found himſelf maſter of the immenſe ſpace that extends from the delicious coaſt of Smyrna to the delightful borders of the Ganges. After his death, violent conteſts aroſe, and his poſterity were deprived of his rich ſpoils. Babar, the ſixth deſcendent of one of his children, alone ſurvived to preſerve his name.

THAT

THAT young prince, brought up in sloth and luxury, reigned in Samarcand, where his ancestor had ended his days. The Usbeck Tartars dethroned him, and constrained him to take refuge in the Cabulistan. Ranguildas, the governor of that province, received him kindly, and supplied him with troops.

THIS wise man addressed him in the following manner: "It is not towards the north, where ven- "geance would naturally call thee, that thy steps "must be directed. Soldiers, enervated by the "pleasures of India, could not without rashness "attack warriors famous for their courage and "their victories. Heaven has conducted thee to "the banks of the Indus, in order to fix upon "thy brow one of the richest diadems in the uni- "verse. Turn thy views towards Indostan. That "empire, torn in pieces by the incessant wars of "the Indians and Patans, calls for a master. It is "in those delightful regions that thou must esta- "blish a new monarchy, and raise thy glory equal "to that of the formidable Tamerlane."

THIS judicious advice made a strong impression on the mind of Babar. A plan of usurpation was immediately traced out, and pursued with activity and skill. Success attended the execution. The northern provinces, not excepting Delhi, submitted after some resistance; and thus a fugitive monarch had the honour of laying the foundation of the power of the Mogul Tartars, which subsists to this day.

THE preservation of this conquest required a form of government. That which Babar found

eſtabliſhed in India, was a kind of deſpotiſm, merely relative to civil matters, tempered by cuſtoms, forms, and opinion; in a word, adapted to that mildneſs which theſe nations derive from the influence of the climate, and from the more powerful influence of religious tenets. To this peaceable conſtitution Babar ſubſtituted a ſevere and military deſpotiſm, ſuch as might be expected from a victorious and barbarous nation.

RANGUILDAS was long witneſs to the power of the new ſovereign, and exulted in the ſucceſs of his own councils. The recollection of the ſteps he had taken to place his maſter's ſon upon the throne, filled him with a conſcious and real ſatisfaction.

One day, as he was praying in the temple, he heard a Banian, who ſtood by him, cry out, "O "God! thou ſeeſt the ſufferings of my brethren. "We are a prey to a young man who conſiders "us as his property, which he may ſquander and "conſume as he pleaſes. Among the many chil- "dren who call upon thee from theſe vaſt regions, "one oppreſſes all the reſt: avenge us of the "tyrant; avenge us of the traitors who have "placed him on the throne without examining "whether he was a juſt man."

RANGUILDAS, aſtoniſhed, drew near to the Banian, and ſaid, "O thou, who curſeſt my old "age, hear me. If I am guilty, my conſcience "has miſled me. When I reſtored the inheritance "to the ſon of my ſovereign, when I expoſed my "life and fortune to eſtabliſh his authority, God "is my witneſs, that I thought I was acting in con-

"formity

" formity to his wife decrees; and, at the very in-
" ſtant when I heard thy prayer, I was ſtill thank-
" ing heaven for granting me, in my latter days,
" thoſe two greateſt of bleſſings, reſt and glory."

" GLORY! cries the Banian. Learn, Ranguildas,
" that glory belongs only to virtue, and not to
" actions which are only ſplendid, without being
" uſeful to mankind. Alas! what advantages did
" you procure to Indoſtan when you crowned the
" ſon of an uſurper? had you previouſly conſidered
" whether he was capable of doing good, and whe-
" ther he would have the will and reſolution to be
" juſt? You ſay, you have reſtored to him the in-
" heritance of his fathers, as if men could be be-
" queathed and poſſeſſed like lands and cattle.
" Pretend not to glory, O Ranguildas! or, if you
" look for gratitude, go and ſeek it in the heart of
" Babar; he owes it you. You have purchaſed it at
" a great price, the happineſs of a whole nation."

BABAR, however, whilſt he was bringing his ſubjects under the yoke of deſpotiſm, took care to confine it within certain bounds, and to draw up his inſtitutes with ſo much force, that his ſucceſſors, though abſolute, could not poſſibly be unjuſt. The prince was to be the judge of the people, and the arbiter of the ſtate; but his tribunal and his council were to be held in the public ſquare. Injuſtice and tyranny love darkneſs, in order to conceal themſelves from their intended victor: but when the monarch's actions are to be ſubmitted to the inſpection of his ſubjects, it is a ſign he intends nothing but their good. Openly

to

to inſult a number of men aſſembled, is ſuch an outrage as even a tyrant would bluſh at.

THE principal ſupport of his authority was a body of four thouſand men, who ſtiled themſelves the firſt ſlaves of the prince. Out of this body were choſen the Omrahs, thoſe perſons who compoſed the emperor's councils, and on whom he beſtowed lands, diſtinguiſhed by great privileges. This ſort of poſſeſſions always reverted to the crown. It was on this condition that all great offices were given. So true it is, that deſpotiſm enriches its ſlaves only to plunder them.

GREAT intereſt, however, was made for the poſt of Omrah. Whoever aſpired to the government of a province, made this the object of his ambition. To prevent any projects the governors might form for their own aggrandizement or independence, they always had overſeers placed about them, who were not under their controul, and who were commiſſioned to inſpect the uſe they made of the military force they were intruſted with, to keep the conquered Indians in awe. The fortified towns were frequently in the hands of officers, who were accountable only to the Court. That ſuſpicious court often ſent for the governor, and either continued him or removed him, as it happened to ſuit her fluctuating policy. Theſe changes were grown ſo common, that a new governor coming out of Delhi, remained upon his elephant with his face turned towards the city, *waiting*, as he ſaid, *to ſee his ſucceſſor come out*.

The form of government, however, was not the ſame throughout the empire. The Moguls had left ſeveral Indian princes in poſſeſſion of their ſovereignties, and even with a power of tranſmitting them to their deſcendents. They governed according to the laws of the country, though accountable to a nabob appointed by the court. They were only obliged to pay tribute, and to conform to the conditions ſtipulated with their anceſtors at the time of the conqueſt.

The conquering nation could not have committed any conſiderable ravages, ſince it does not yet conſtitute more than a tenth part of the population of India. There are a hundred millions of Indians to ten millions of Tartars. The two nations have never intermixed. None but Indians are farmers and artificers. They alone live in the country, and carry on the manufactures. The Mohammedans are to be found in the capital, at court, in great cities, in camps and armies.

It appears, that at that period when the Moguls entered Indoſtan, they found no private property. All the lands belonged to the Indian princes; and it may eaſily be imagined that ſavage conquerors, ſunk in ignorance and avarice, did not rectify this abuſe, which is the utmoſt ſtretch of arbitrary power. That portion of the lands of the empire which the new ſovereigns call their own, was divided into large governments, which were called ſubahſhips. The ſubahs, who were intruſted with the civil and military government, were alſo appointed to receive the revenues. This they committed

mitted to the care of the nabobs, whom they eſtabliſhed throughout their ſubahſhips; and theſe again truſted this buſineſs to private farmers, whoſe immediate buſineſs it was to cultivate the lands.

At the beginning of their year, which is in June, the nabob's officers agreed with the farmers for the price of their farm. A kind of deed was drawn up, called jamabandi, which was depoſited in the chancery of the province; after which, the farmers went, each in his own diſtrict, to look for huſbandmen, and advanced them conſiderable ſums to enable them to ſow the ground. After harveſt, the farmers remitted the produce of their grounds to the nabob's officers. The nabob delivered it to the ſubah, and the ſubah paid it into the emperor's treaſury. The agreements were commonly for half the produce of the land; the other half went to pay the charges of culture, to enrich the farmers, and to ſubſiſt thoſe whom they employed in tilling the land. In this ſyſtem were compriſed not only corn, which is the principal crop, but all other productions of the earth. Betel, ſalt, tobacco, were all farmed in the ſame manner.

There were alſo ſome cuſtom-houſes, and ſome duties upon the public markets; but no poll-tax, or any tax upon induſtry. Theſe arbitrary rulers had not thought of requiring any thing from men who had nothing left them. The weaver, ſitting at his loom, worked without ſolicitude, and freely diſpoſed of the fruit of his labour.

This liberty extended to every kind of moveables. They were truly the property of private perſons, who were not accountable to any perſon for

for them. They could dispose of them in their life-time; and, after their death, they devolved to their offspring. The houses of artificers, the town-houses with the little gardens belonging to them, were likewise accounted private property. They were hereditary, and might be sold.

In the latter case, the buyer and seller appeared before the Cothoal. The conditions of the bargain were drawn up in writing; and the Cothoal affixed his seal to the deed, to make it valid.

The same formality was observed with regard to the purchase of slaves; that is, of those unfortunate men, who, under the pressure of poverty, chose rather to be in bondage to one man who allowed them a subsistence, than to live under that general slavery in which they had no means of procuring the necessaries of life. They then sold themselves for a sum of money; and this was transacted in presence of the Cothoal, that the master's property might not be contested.

The Cothoal was a kind of notary public. There was one in every district of a certain size. It was before him that the few deeds were transacted, which the nature of such a government would admit of. Another officer, called Jemidar, decided all differences that arose between man and man; and his decisions were almost always definitive, unless the cause was a very important one, or unless the aggrieved party was rich enough to pay for having it reversed at the nabob's court. The Jemidar was likewise intrusted with the police. He had a power of inflicting slight punishments; but all capital offences

fences were reſerved for the judgment of the nabob, as he alone had a right to pronounce a ſentence of death.

Such a government, which was no better than a deſpotiſm gradually deſcending from the throne down to the meaneſt officer, could have no other ſpring than a coercive power conſtantly exerted. Accordingly, as ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon was over, the monarch quitted his capital, and reſided in his camp. The nabobs, the rajas, and the principal officers, were ſummoned to attend him; and in this manner he proceeded through all the provinces ſucceſſively, in military parade, which, however, did not preclude political artifice. One great man was often employed to oppreſs another. The moſt odious refinement of deſpotiſm is that of dividing its ſlaves. Theſe diviſions were fomented by informers, publicly kept by the prince, who were continually ſpreading alarm and terror. Theſe informers were always choſen among perſons of the firſt rank. Corruption is then at its height, when power can confer nobility on what is mean.

Every year, the great Mogul ſet out on his progreſs, more as a conqueror, than as a ſovereign. He went to adminiſter juſtice in the provinces, as if he was going to plunder them; and maintained his authority by a parade of military force, which makes arbitrary government a continual ſtate-war. This manner of governing, though with legal forms, is very dangerous for the monarch. So long as the people feel their wrongs merely through the channel of thoſe who are inveſted with his authority, they only murmur, upon the ſuppoſition that the ſovereign

ſovereign is ignorant of them, and would not ſuffer any injuſtice if he knew it: but when the ſovereign gives it a ſanction by his preſence and by his own deciſions, then all confidence is at an end; the deception vaniſhes: he was a God; now he is an ideot, or a wicked man.

The Mogul emperors, however, have long enjoyed the ſuperſtitious idea the nation had conceived of their ſacred character. That outward pomp which captivates the people more than juſtice, becauſe men are more ſtruck with what dazzles their eyes, than with what is beneficial to them; the richneſs and ſplendour of the prince's court; the grandeur that ſurrounded him in his travels; all this kept up in the minds of the people thoſe prejudices of ſervile ignorance, which trembles before the idol it has raiſed. The various accounts that have been tranſmitted to us of the luxury of the moſt brilliant courts in the world, are not to be compared to the oſtentatious pomp of the Great Mogul when he appears in public. The elephants, formerly ſo dreadful in war, but which are become uſeleſs in an army ſince the introduction of gunpowder; theſe immenſe animals that are unknown in our climates, give an Aſiatic monarch an air of grandeur, of which we have no conception. The people fall proſtrate before their majeſtic ſovereign, who ſits exalted upon a throne of gold, glittering with precious ſtones, mounted on the haughty animal, who proceeds ſlowly, proud to preſent the maſter of a great empire to the reſpect of ſo many ſlaves. Thus, by dazzling the eyes of men, or inſpiring them with

with terror, the Moguls preſerved and even enlarged their conqueſts. Aurengzebe completed them, by making himſelf maſter of the whole peninſula. All Indoſtan, excepting a ſmall portion of it along the coaſt of Malabar, ſubmitted to that ſuperſtitious and barbarous tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his father, his brothers, and his nephews.

This infamous deſpot made the Mogul power an object of deteſtation, but he ſupported it as long as he lived. At his death it was irrecoverably reduced. The uncertainty as to the right of ſucceſſion was the firſt cauſe of the diſturbances that aroſe after his demiſe, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only one law was generally acknowledged; that which enacted, that the ſceptre ſhould never go out of the family of Tamerlane; but every emperor was at liberty to chuſe his ſucceſſor, without being obliged to regard the degree of conſanguinity. This indefinite right proved a ſource of diſcord. Young princes, whoſe birth entitled them to expect the crown, and who frequently were at the head of a province and an army, ſupported their claim ſword-in-hand, and paid little regard to the will of a monarch who was no more. This happened at the death of Aurengzebe. His rich ſpoils were ſtained with blood. In theſe convulſions of the ſtate, the ſprings that reſtrained an army of twelve hundred thouſand men were relaxed. Every nabob aimed at being independent, increaſing the contributions raiſed upon the people, and leſſening the tributes

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ſent into the emperor's treaſury. No longer was any thing regulated by law, all was carried on by caprice, or thrown into confuſion by violent meaſures.

The education of the young princes promiſed no remedy for all theſe evils. Left to the care of women till the age of ſeven years, tutored afterwards in ſome religious principles, they went and ſpent in the ſoft indulgences of a ſeraglio thoſe years of youth and activity which ought to be employed in forming the man, and inſtructing him in the knowledge of life. Care was taken to enervate them, that they might not become dangerous. Conſpiracies of children againſt their fathers were frequent; to prevent theſe, therefore, the children were deprived of every virtue, leſt they ſhould be capable of a crime. Hence that ſhocking thought of an oriental poet, that *fathers, whilſt their ſons are living, are fondeſt of their grandſons, becauſe they love in them the enemies of their enemies.*

The Moguls retained nothing of thoſe hardy manners they had brought from their mountains. Thoſe among them who were advanced to high offices, or had acquired large fortunes, changed their habitations according to the ſeaſons. In theſe retirements, which were ſome of them more delightful than others, they lived in houſes built only of clay or earth, but the inſide of which preſented every Aſiatic luxury, together with all the pomp of the moſt corrupted courts. Wherever men cannot raiſe a laſting fortune, nor tranſmit it to

their poſterity, they are deſirous of crowding all their enjoyments in the only moment they can call their own. Every pleaſure, and even life itſelf, is exhauſted in the midſt of perfumes and women.

The Mogul empire was in this ſtate of weakneſs when it was attacked, in 1738, by the famous Thamas Kouli-Kan. The innumerable armies of India were diſperſed without reſiſtance by a hundred thouſand Perſians; as thoſe very Perſians had formerly fled before thirty thouſand Greeks trained by Alexander. Thamas entered victorious into Delhi, received the homage of the weak Mahomed; and finding the monarch ſtill more ſtupid than his ſubjects, he ſuffered him to live and to reign, united to Perſia all the provinces that ſuited him, and returned loaded with an immenſe booty, the ſpoils of Indoſtan.

Mahomed, deſpiſed by his conqueror, was ſtill more ſo by his ſubjects. The great men would not ſerve under a vaſſal of the king of Perſia. The nabobſhips became independent, paying only a ſmall tribute. In vain did the emperor declare that the nabobs ſhould ſtill be removeable; each of them ſtrove with all his power to make his dignity hereditary, and the ſword decided every quarrel. The ſubjects were conſtantly at war with their maſter, and were not conſidered as rebels. Whoever could afford to pay a body of troops, pretended to a ſovereignty. The only formality obſerved, was to counterfeit the emperor's ſign manual in a *firman*, or warrant of inveſtiture. It was brought to the uſurper, who received it on his knees. This farce was neceſſary to impoſe upon the

the people, who had ſtill reſpect enough remaining for the family of Tamerlane, to chooſe that all authority ſhould, at leaſt, appear to proceed from it.

Thus did diſcord, ambition, and anarchy, oppreſs this fine region of Indoſtan. Crimes could the more eaſily be concealed, as it was the cuſtom of the great never to write but in ambiguous terms, and to employ none but obſcure agents, whom they diſowned when they found it neceſſary. Aſſaſſination and poiſoning became common crimes, which were buried in the dark receſſes of thoſe impenetrable palaces, full of attendants, ever ready to perpetrate the blackeſt acts on the leaſt ſignal from their maſter.

The foreign troops that were called-in by the contending parties, completed the miſeries of this unhappy country. They carried off all the riches of the land, or obliged the owners to bury them under ground; ſo that the treaſures amaſſed for ſo many ages gradually diſappeared. A general dejection enſued. The grounds lay fallow, and the manufactures ſtood ſtill. The people would no longer work for foreign plunderers, or domeſtic oppreſſers. Want and famine were ſoon felt. Theſe calamities, which for ten years had infeſted the provinces of the empire, began to viſit the coaſt of Coromandel. The wiſe Nizamal Muluck, ſubah of the Decan, was now no more. His prudence and talents had kept that part of India which he commanded in a flouriſhing ſtate. The European merchants were apprehenſive that their trade might fail when it had loſt that ſupport. They ſaw no

reſource againſt that danger, but to have a territory of their own, large enough to contain a number of manufactures ſufficient to make up their lading.

Dupleix was the firſt who conſidered this as a practicable ſcheme. The war had brought many troops to Pondicherry, with which he hoped by rapid conqueſts to procure greater advantages than the rival nations had obtained by a ſteady conduct, and mature deliberation.

He had long ſtudied the character of the Moguls, their intrigues, their political intereſts. He had acquired ſuch knowledge of theſe matters, as might have been ſurprizing even in a man brought up at the court of Delhi. Theſe informations deeply combined, had convinced him that it would be in his power to attain a principal influence in the affairs of Indoſtan; poſſibly, to manage them as he pleaſed. His ſpirit, which prompted him to attempt more than he was able to perform, gave additional ſtrength to his reflections. Nothing terrified him in the great part he propoſed to act at the diſtance of ſix thouſand leagues from his native country. In vain did his friends repreſent to him the dangers attending ſuch an undertaking; he conſidered nothing but the glorious advantage of ſecuring to France a new dominion in the heart of Aſia; to enable her, by the revenues annexed to it, to defray the charges of trade and the expences of ſovereignty; and even to free her from the tribute which our luxury pays to the induſtry of the Indians, by procuring rich and numerous cargoes,

cargoes, which ſhould not be bought with any exports of money, but from the overflowings of the new revenues. Full of this great project, Dupleix eagerly ſeized the firſt opportunity that offered to put it in execution, and ſoon took upon him to diſpoſe of the ſubahſhip of the Decan, and the nabobſhip of the Carnatic, in favour of two men who were ready to give up any thing he ſhould require.

The ſubahſhip of the Decan is a vice-royalty, made up of ſeveral provinces which were formerly ſo many independent ſtates. It extends from Cape Comorin to the Ganges. The ſubah has the ſuperintendance of all the Indian princes and all the Mogul governors within his juriſdiction; and in his hands are depoſited the contributions that are deſtined to fill the public treaſure. He can compel his inferior officers to attend him in all military expeditions he may think proper to make into the countries under his dominion; but he is not allowed to march them into a foreign territory, without an expreſs order from the emperor.

The ſubahſhip of the Decan becoming vacant in 1748, Dupleix, after a ſeries of events and revolutions, in which the corruption of the Moguls, the weakneſs of the Indians, and the boldneſs of the French, were equally conſpicuous, diſpoſed of it, towards the beginning of the year 1751, in favour of Salabat-jing, a ſon of the late viceroy.

This ſucceſs ſecured great advantages to the French ſettlements along the coaſt of Coromandel; but Pondicherry was a place of ſuch impor-

tance, that it was thought to deſerve a particular attention. This town, which is ſituated on the Carnatic, has ſuch conſtant and immediate connections with the nabob of that rich diſtrict, that it was thought adviſeable to procure the government of the province for a man whoſe affection and ſubmiſſion might be depended upon. The choice fell upon Chunda-ſaeb, a relation of the late nabob, well-known for his intrigues, his misfortunes, his warlike exploits, and his ſteadineſs of temper.

In return for their ſervices, the French made him give up an immenſe territory. The principal of their acquiſitions was the iſland of Seringham, formed by the two branches of the Caveri. This long and fertile iſland derives its name and its conſequence from a Pagoda, which is fortified, as moſt great buildings that are devoted to public worſhip. The temple is ſurrounded with ſeven ſquare incloſures, at the diſtance of three hundred and fifty feet from each other, and formed by pretty high walls, which are proportionably thick. The altar ſtands in the center. A ſingle monument of this kind, with its fortifications and the myſteries and riches it contains, is more likely to enforce and perpetuate a religion, than a multiplicity of temples and prieſts diſperſed in different towns, with their ſacrifices, ceremonies, prayers, and diſcourſes, which, by their number, their frequent repetition, and their being performed in public, are apt to tire the people: they are alſo expoſed to the contempt of enlightened reaſon, to dangerous profanations, or to the ſlight

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and neglect of the people; a circumstance which the priests dread more than sacrilege itself. The priests of India, as wise as those of Egypt, suffer no stranger to penetrate into the Pagoda of Seringham. Amidst the fables in which the history of this temple is involved, probably some acute philosopher might, if he was admitted into it, trace from the emblems, the form and construction of the edifice, and the superstitious practices and traditions peculiar to that sacred inclosure, many sources of instruction, and an insight into the history of the most remote ages. Pilgrims resort thither from all parts of Indostan, to obtain absolution of their sins, and always bring an offering proportionable to their circumstances. These gifts were still so considerable at the beginning of the present century, as to maintain forty thousand men in a life of sloth and idleness. The Bramins of this temple, though under the restraints of subordination, were seldom known to quit their retirement for the more busy scenes of intrigue and politics.

INDEPENDENT of other advantages which the French enjoyed by the acquisition of Seringham, the situation gave them great influence over the neighbouring countries, and an absolute command over the kingdom of Tanjour, as they could at any time stop the waters that were wanted for the culture of their rice.

THE territories of Karical and Pondicherry got an accession of ten leagues each, with fourscore villages. If these acquisitions were not so considerable

as that of Seringham in point of political influence, they were much more ſo with regard to trade.

But this was a trifling acquiſition compared to the territory that was gained to the north, which comprehended the Condavir, Maſulipatam, the iſland of Divi, and the four provinces of Muſtafanagur, Elur, Rajamandry, and Chicakol. Such important conceſſions made the French maſters of the coaſt for the ſpace of ſix hundred miles, and procured them the beſt linen in Indoſtan. It is true, they were to enjoy the four provinces no longer than they ſhould furniſh the ſubah with a ſtipulated number of troops, and maintain them at their own expence; but this agreement, which was only binding to their honeſty, gave them little concern. Their ambition made them already think themſelves in poſſeſſion of thoſe treaſures that had been heaped up in thoſe vaſt regions for ſo many ages.

The ambitious views of the French, and their projects of conqueſt, were ſtill more viſionary. They purpoſed to obtain a ceſſion of the capital of the Portugueſe colonies, and to ſeize upon the diſtrict of a triangular form, which lies between Maſulipatam, Goa, and Cape Comorin.

In the mean time, till they could realize theſe brilliant chimeras, they conſidered the perſonal honours that were laviſhed upon Dupleix as a preſage of the greateſt proſperity. It is well known, that every foreign colony is in ſome degree odious to the natives; it is therefore good policy to endeavour to leſſen this averſion, and the

the ſureſt way to attain that end is, to conform as much as poſſible to the cuſtoms and manners of the country. This maxim, which is in general true, is more particularly ſo in countries where the people think but little, and is conſequently ſo in India.

THE inclination which the French commander had for Aſiatic pomp, was ſtill a further inducement with to him to conform to the cuſtoms of the country. He was exceedingly rejoiced when he ſaw himſelf inveſted with the dignity of a nabob. That title put him upon a level with thoſe whoſe protection he ſolicited before, and afforded him conſiderable opportunities to pave the way for thoſe great revolutions he meditated, in order to promote the important intereſts he was intruſted with. He entertained ſtill greater hopes on being appointed governor of all the Mogul poſſeſſions, throughout an extent little inferior to the whole kingdom of France. All the revenues of thoſe rich provinces were to be depoſited in his hands, and he was accountable to none but the ſubah himſelf.

THOUGH theſe agreements entered into by merchants could not be very pleaſing to the court of Delhi, they were not much afraid of its reſentment. The emperor, being in want of men and money, which the ſubahs, the nabobs, the rajas, his meaneſt delegates, took upon themſelves to refuſe him, found himſelf attacked on all ſides.

THE Rajaputes, deſcended from thoſe Indians with whom Alexander had been engaged in battle, being driven out of their lands by the Moguls, took

took ſhelter in ſome mountains that are almoſt inacceſſible. Continual diſturbances put it out of their power to think of conqueſts; but in the intervals of their diſſentions, they make inroads that cannot fail of harraſſing an empire already exhauſted.

The Patans are more formidable enemies. Driven by the Moguls from moſt of the thrones of Indoſtan, they have taken refuge at the foot of mount Imaüs, which is a continuation of the Caucaſus. That ſituation has ſtrangely altered their manners, and given them a fierceneſs of temper which they had not in a milder climate. War is their chief employment. They ſerve alike under the banners of Indian or Mohammedan princes; but their obedience is not equal to their valour. Whatever crime they may have been guilty of, it is dangerous to puniſh them; for they are ſo vindictive, that they will murder when they are weak, and revolt when they are ſtrong enough to attempt any bold enterprize. Since the reigning power has loſt its ſtrength, the nation has ſhaken off the yoke. Not many years ago, their generals carried on their ravages as far as Delhi, and did not quit that capital till they had plundered it.

To the north of Indoſtan is a nation, which, though lately known, is the more formidable for being a new enemy. This people, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Scheiks, have found means to free themſelves from the chains of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, though ſurrounded by nations of ſlaves. They are ſaid to be followers of a philoſopher of Thibet,

Thibet, who inſpired them with ſome notions of liberty, and taught them Theiſm without any mixture of ſuperſtition. They firſt appeared in the beginning of the preſent century; but were then conſidered rather as a ſect than as a nation. During the calamities of the Mogul empire, their number increaſed conſiderably by apoſtates of all religions, who joined with them, and ſought ſhelter among them from the oppreſſions and fury of their tyrants. To be admitted of that ſociety, nothing more is required than to ſwear implacable hatred againſt monarchy. It is aſſerted, that they have a temple with an altar, on which ſtands their code of laws, and next to it a ſcepter and a dagger. Four old men are elected, who occaſionally conſult the law, which is the only ſupreme power this republic obeys. The Scheiks actually poſſeſs the whole province of Punjal, the greateſt part of the Moultan and the Sindi, both banks of the Indus from Caſſimere to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi from Lahot to Serhend: they can raiſe an army of ſixty thouſand good cavalry.

But of all the enemies of the Moguls, none are, perhaps, ſo dangerous as the Marattas. This nation, of late ſo famous, ſo far as the obſcurity of their origin and hiſtory will allow us to conjecture, poſſeſſed ſeveral provinces of Indoſtan, from whence they were driven by the fear or the arms of the Moguls. They fled into the mountains which extend from Surat to Goa, and there formed ſeveral tribes, which in proceſs of time united into one ſtate, of which Satarah was the capital.

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Most of them carried vice and licentiousness to all the excesses which might be expected from an ignorant people, who have cast off the yoke of prejudices, without substituting wholesome laws and sound learning in their stead. Tired of laudable and peaceful labours, they thought of nothing but rapine. Yet this was confined to the plundering of a few villages, and the robbing of some caravans; till the coast of Coromandel, being threatened by Aurengzebe, made them sensible of their strength, by imploring their assistance.

At this period they were seen coming out of their rocks, mounted on small and ill-shaped horses, but stout and accustomed to indifferent feeding, to difficult roads, and to excessive fatigue. The whole accoutrement of a Maratta horseman consisted of a turban, a girdle, and a cloak. His provisions were a little bag of rice, and a leather bottle full of water. His only weapon was an excellent sabre.

Notwithstanding the assistance of these barbarians, the Indian princes were forced to bend to the yoke of Aurengzebe; but the conqueror, weary of contending with irregular troops, which were continually ravaging the newly-reduced provinces, determined to conclude a treaty that would have been dishonourable, had it not been dictated by necessity, which is stronger than prejudices, oaths, and laws. He ceded for ever to the Marattas the fourth part of the revenues of the Decan, a subahship formed out of all his usurpations in the peninsula.

This

This kind of tribute was regularly paid as long as Aurengzebe lived. After his death, it was granted or refuſed according to circumſtances. The levying of it brought the Marattas in arms to the remoteſt parts of their mountains. Their boldneſs increaſed during the anarchy of Indoſtan. They have made the empire tremble; they have depoſed monarchs; they have extended their frontiers; they have granted their protection to rajas and nabobs who ſtrove to be independent, and their influence has been unbounded.

Whilst the court of Delhi was with difficulty contending with ſo many enemies, all conſpiring to effect its ruin, M. de Buſſy, who with a ſmall corps of French troops and an army of Indians had conducted Salabat-jing to Aurengabad his capital, endeavoured to eſtabliſh him on the throne where he had placed him. The weakneſs of the prince, the conſpiracies which it occaſioned, the firmans or privileges which had been granted to rivals, and other impediments, obſtructed but could not ſubvert his projects. By his means the prince reigned more peaceably under the protection of the French than could have been expected, conſidering the circumſtances of this ſituation; and he preſerved him abſolutely independent of the head of the empire.

Chunda-Saeb, appointed nabob of the Carnatic, was not in ſo happy a ſituation. The Engliſh, ever in oppoſition to the French, had ſtirred up a rival againſt him named Mohammed-Ali-Kan. The names of thoſe two princes ſerved as a pretence

tence for carrying on a vigorous war between the two nations: they fought for glory, for wealth, and to ſerve the paſſions of their reſpective commanders, Dupleix and Saunders. Victory declared alternately for each army. Succeſs would not have been ſo fluctuating, had the governor of Madraſs had more troops, or the governor of Pondicherry better officers. It was difficult to conjecture which of thoſe two men, who were both of the ſame inflexible temper, would in the end obtain the ſuperiority; but it was very certain that neither would ſubmit, whilſt he had either troops or money left. Nor was it likely that either of them would ſoon be reduced to this extremity, notwithſtanding their amazing efforts, becauſe they both found ſuch reſources in their hatred, and their genius, as even the moſt able men could not have any conception of. It was evident that the diſturbances in the Carnatic would not be at an end, unleſs the peace was firſt ſettled in Europe; and it was to be feared that the flame which had been confined to India for ſix years might ſpread further. The miniſters of France and England obviated this danger, by enjoining the two companies to fix certain terms of agreement. They made a conditional treaty, which began by ſuſpending all hoſtilities at the commencement of the year 1755, and was to end by eſtabliſhing between them a perfect equality of territory, of ſtrength, and of trade, on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa. This ſtipulation had not yet received the ſanction of the courts of

London and Verſailles, when greater intereſts kindled a freſh war between the two nations.

Wars between the Engliſh and French. The French loſe all their ſettlements.

THE report of this great conteſt, which began in North America, and ſpread itſelf throughout the univerſe, reached the Eaſt-Indies at a time when the Engliſh were engaged in a very intricate war with the ſubah of Bengal. Had the French been then in the ſame ſtate they were ſome years before, they would have joined with the natives. From narrow views and ill-judged intereſts, they were deſirous of entering into a formal convention, to ſecure the neutrality which had ſubſiſted on the banks of the Ganges during the laſt diſturbances. Their rivals amuſed them with the hopes of ſettling this convention, ſo long as they wanted to keep them in a ſtate of inaction. But as ſoon as their ſucceſſes had enabled them to make their own terms, they attacked Chandernagore. The reduction of this place was followed by the ruin of all the factories dependent upon it, and put the Engliſh in a condition to ſend men, money, proviſions, and ſhips, to the coaſt of Coromandel, where the French were juſt arrived with conſiderable land and ſea-forces.

THESE forces, deſtined to protect the ſettlements of their own nation and deſtroy thoſe of the enemy, were more than ſufficient to anſwer both thoſe purpoſes. The only point was to make a proper uſe of them; but there was a miſtake in this from the beginning, as will plainly appear from the following obſervations.

BEFORE

BOOK IV.

BEFORE the commencement of the war, the company poſſeſſed on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa, Maſulipatam, with five provinces; a large circuit of land about Pondicherry, which for a long time before had been nothing but a ſand-bank; and an extent nearly of the ſame ſize in the neighbourhood of Karical; and, laſtly, the iſland of Seringham. Theſe poſſeſſions made four tracts of country, too far diſtant to ſupport each other. They bore the marks of the wild fancy and extravagant imagination of Dupleix, who had made theſe acquiſitions.

THESE political errors might have been amended. Dupleix, who compenſated for his defects by his great qualities, had acquired ſo great an influence that he was offered the perpetual government of the Carnatic. It was the moſt flouriſhing province in all the Mogul empire. By ſingular and fortunate circumſtances, it had been governed ſucceſſively by three nabobs of the ſame family, who had been equally attentive to agriculture and induſtry. General felicity had been the reſult of this mild government and public-ſpirited conduct, and the public revenues had increaſed to twelve millions *. A ſixth part of this ſum would have been given to Salabat-jing, and the reſt would have been for the company.

IF the miniſtry and the direction, who alternately ſupported and neglected their power in India, had but been capable of a firm and ſettled reſolution, they might have ſent orders to their

* 525,0001.

agent

agent to give up all the remote conqueſts, and to be content with that important ſettlement. It was alone ſufficient to give the French a firm eſtabliſhment, a compact territory in which the ſettlements would be contiguous, a very large quantity of merchandiſe, proviſions for their fortified towns, and revenues capable of maintaining a body of troops, which would have enabled them to brave the jealouſy of their neighbours, and the hatred of their enemies. Unfortunately for them, the court of Verſailles ordered that Dupleix ſhould not accept of the Carnatic; and affairs remained as they were before that propoſal.

The ſituation was critical. Dupleix was, perhaps, the only man who could ſupport himſelf in it, or in his ſtead the celebrated officer who had had the greateſt ſhare in his confidence, and was beſt acquainted with his ſchemes. The contrary opinion prevailed. Dupleix had been recalled. The general, who was appointed to conduct the Indian war, imagined he muſt demoliſh a ſtructure which ought only to have been ſupported in thoſe troubleſome times, and diſcovered his deſigns in ſo public a manner, as contributed greatly to heighten the imprudence of his reſolutions.

This man, whoſe ungovernable temper could never adapt itſelf to circumſtances, had received from nature no qualities that fitted him for command. He was governed by a gloomy, impetuous, and irregular imagination; ſo that there was a perpetual contraſt between his converſation and his projects, and between his projects and his actions.

Paſſionate, ſuſpicious, jealous, and poſitive to exceſs, he created an univerſal diffidence and dejection, and excited animoſities never to be ſuppreſſed. His military operations, his civil government, his political combinations, all bore evident marks of the confuſion of his ideas.

The evacuation of the iſland of Seringham was the principal cauſe of the diſaſters that attended the war with Tanjour. Maſulipatam and the northern provinces were loſt, from having given up the alliance of Salabatjing. The inferior powers of the Carnatic, who no longer reſpected the French for the ſake of their old friend the ſubah of the Decan, completed the general ruin by eſpouſing other intereſts.

On the other hand, the French ſquadron, though ſuperior to the Engliſh, with which it had engaged three ſeveral times without gaining any advantage over it, at laſt was obliged to leave it maſter of the ſeas, by which the fate of India was decided. Pondicherry, after ſtruggling with all the horrors of famine, was forced to ſurrender on the 15th of January 1761. Lally had, the day before, corrected a plan of capitulation drawn up by the council; he had named deputies to carry it to the enemy's camp; and, by a contradiction that was characteriſtic of the man, he gave the deputies a letter for the Engliſh general, in which he told him, *he would have no capitulation, becauſe the Engliſh were ſuch people that they would not adhere to it.*

In taking poſſeſſion of the place, the conqueror cauſed not only the troops that had defended it, but

but all the French in the company's ſervice, to be ſhipped off for Europe; and, not ſatisfied even with that revenge, they deſtroyed Pondicherry, and made that noble city a heap of ruins.

Those of the inhabitants who were ſent over to France, arrived in deſpair, at having loſt their fortunes, and ſeen their houſes demoliſhed as they quitted the ſhore. They filled Paris with their clamours; they excited the indignation of the public againſt their governor; they impeached him as the author of all their miſeries, and the ſole cauſe of the loſs of a flouriſhing colony. Lally was taken up, and tried by the parliament. He had been accuſed of high treaſon and extortion; of the firſt he was acquitted, and the ſecond was never proved; yet Lally was condemned to loſe his head.

Let us aſk, in the name of humanity, what his crime was, that it ſhould be puniſhable by law? The awful ſword of juſtice was not put into the hands of the magiſtrate to gratify private reſentment, or even to follow the emotions of public indignation. The law alone muſt point out its own victims; and, if the clamours of a blind and incenſed multitude could ſway with the judges to pronounce a capital ſentence, the innocent might ſuffer for the guilty, and there would be no ſafety for the citizen. In this point of view let us examine the ſentence.

It declares, that Lally ſtands convicted of *having betrayed the intereſts of the king, of the ſtate, and of the India company*. What is meant by betraying of intereſts? What law is there that makes it death to

be guilty of this vague and indefinite crime? No ſuch law either does or can exiſt. The diſgrace of the prince, the contempt of the nation, public infamy, theſe are the proper puniſhments for the man, who, from incapacity or folly, has not ſerved his country as he ought: but death, and that too upon a ſcaffold, is deſtined for crimes of a different nature.

THE ſentence further declares, that Lally ſtands convicted *of vexations, exactions, and abuſe of authority.* No doubt he was guilty of theſe in numberleſs inſtances. He made uſe of violent means to procure pecuniary aids; but this money was put into the public treaſure. He injured and oppreſſed the citizens; but he never attempted any thing againſt their lives, or againſt their honour. He erected gibbets in the market-place, but cauſed no one to be executed upon them.

IN reality, he was a madman of a dark and dangerous caſt; an odious and deſpicable man; a man totally incapable of command. But he was neither guilty of public extortions, nor treaſon; and, to uſe the expreſſion of a philoſopher whoſe virtues do honour to humanity, *every one had a right to kill Lally, except the executioner.*

Cauſes of the misfortunes of the French.

THE misfortunes that befel the French in Aſia had been foreſeen by all conſiderate men, who reflected on the corruption of the nation. Their morals eſpecially had degenerated in the voluptuous climate of India. The wars which Dupleix had carried-on in the inland parts had laid the foundation of many fortunes. They were increaſed and multiplied by the gifts which Salabatjing

batjing laviſhed on thoſe who conducted him in triumph to his capital, and fixed him on the throne. The officers who had not ſhared the dangers, the glory, and the benefits of thoſe brilliant expeditions, found out an expedient to comfort themſelves under their misfortune; which was, to reduce the ſipahi's to half the number they were ordered to maintain, and to apply their pay to their own benefit; which they could eaſily do, as the money paſſed through their hands. The agents for trade, who had not theſe reſources, accounted to the company but for a very ſmall part of the profits made upon the European goods they ſold, though they ought to have been all their own; and ſold them thoſe of India at a very high price, which they ought to have had at prime-coſt. Thoſe who were intruſted with collecting the revenue of any particular ſpot, farmed it themſelves under Indian names, or let it for a trifle, upon receiving a handſome gratuity; they even frequently kept back the whole income of ſuch eſtates, under pretence of ſome imaginary robbery or devaſtation, which had made it impoſſible to collect it. All undertakings, of what nature ſoever, were clandeſtinely agreed upon; and became the prey of the perſons employed in them, who had found means to make themſelves formidable, or of ſuch as were moſt in favour, or richeſt. The authorized abuſe that prevails in India, of giving and receiving preſents on the concluſion of every treaty, had multiplied theſe tranſactions without neceſſity. The navigators who landed in thoſe parts, dazzled with the fortunes which they ſaw in-

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creaſed fourfold from one voyage to another, no longer regarded their ſhips, but as the means of carrying on trade, and acquiring wealth. Corruption was brought to its greateſt height by people of rank, who had been diſgraced and ruined at home; but who, being encouraged by what they ſaw, and impelled by the reports that were brought to them, reſolved to go themſelves into Aſia, in hopes of retrieving their ſhattered fortunes, or of being able to continue their irregularities with impunity. The perſonal conduct of the directors made it neceſſary for them to connive at all theſe diſorders. They were reproached with attending to nothing in their office but the credit, the money, and the power it gave them; with giving the moſt important poſts to their own relations, men of no morals, application, or capacity; with multiplying the number of factors without neceſſity and without bounds, to ſecure friends in the city and at court; and, laſtly, they were accuſed of obtruding upon the public commodities which might have been bought cheaper and better in other places. Whether the government did not know of theſe exceſſes, or had not reſolution enough to put a ſtop to them, it was, by its blindneſs or its weakneſs, in ſome meaſure acceſſary to the ruin of the affairs of the nation in India. It might even without injuſtice be charged with being the principal cauſe of them, by ſending ſuch improper perſons to manage and defend an important ſettlement, which had no leſs to fear from its own corruption, than from the Engliſh fleets and armies.

THE

THE misfortunes of the company abroad were aggravated by their ſituation at home. It was immediately thought adviſeable to lay a clear account of affairs before the proprietors. This diſcovery occaſioned a general deſpondency, which gave riſe to a variety of different ſchemes, all equally abſurd. Theſe ſeveral ſchemes were haſtily diſcuſſed, nor was it poſſible that any of them could be fixed upon by men in ſuch a ſtate of uncertainty and diffidence. The deliberations were carried on with too much aſperity; and time, which was of ſo much conſequence, was loſt in upbraidings and invectives. No one could foreſee where theſe commotions would end; when a young merchant of penetration and judgment aroſe. The proprietors liſtened to him with attention; all diſputes immediately ſubſided, and freſh hopes began to dawn. They were unanimous in adopting his opinion. The company, which the enemies to all excluſive privileges wiſhed to ſee aboliſhed, and which ſo many private intereſts had conſpired to deſtroy, ſtill maintained its ground: but it was put upon a better footing; a circumſtance which was abſolutely neceſſary.

Meaſures taken by the French to re-eſtabliſh affairs in India.

AMONGST the cauſes that had occaſioned the diſtreſſes of the company, there was one which had long been looked upon as the ſource of all the reſt; this was the dependence, or rather the ſlavery, in which the government had kept that great body for near half a century.

EVER ſince the year 1723, the directors had been choſen by the court. In 1730, a commiſſary appointed by the king was introduced into the

adminiſtration of the company. From this period there was an end to all freedom of debate; there was no longer any connection between thoſe who had the management of affairs and the proprietors; no immediate intercourſe between the managers and government. All was directed by the influence and according to the views of the court. Myſtery, that dangerous veil of arbitrary adminiſtration, concealed all their operations; and it was not till 1744 that the proprietors were called together. They were empowered to name ſyndics, and to call a general meeting once a year; but they were not better informed of the ſtate of their affairs, nor more at liberty to direct them. The power of chuſing the directors was ſtill veſted in the crown, and inſtead of one commiſſary the king choſe to have two.

From this time two parties were formed. Each commiſſary had his own ſcheme, his own favourites, and endeavoured to get his own projects adopted. Hence aroſe diviſions, intrigues, informations, and animoſities, which originated in Paris, and extended as far as India, and there broke out in a manner ſo fatal to the nation.

The miniſtry, ſhocked at ſuch a number of abuſes, and weary of thoſe endleſs conteſts, attempted to remedy them. It was imagined they had ſucceeded, by appointing a third commiſſary. This expedient, however, ſerved only to increaſe the evil. Deſpotiſm had prevailed while there was but one; diviſion enſued on the nomination of two; and from the moment three were appointed, all was anarchy

anarchy and confuſion. They were reduced to two, and pains were taken to preſerve harmony as much as poſſible between them; and in 1764 there was but one, when the proprietors deſired that the company might be brought back to its original form, by reſtoring its freedom.

They ventured to tell the government, they might impute the diſaſters and errors of the company to themſelves, as the proprietors had not been concerned in the management of their affairs; that they could never be carried on moſt advantageouſly both for them and for the ſtate, till this could be done with freedom, and till an immediate intercourſe was eſtabliſhed between the proprietors and adminiſtrators, and between the adminiſtrators and the miniſtry; that whenever there was an intermediate perſon, the orders given on one part, and the reports made on the other, would neceſſarily, in paſſing through his hands, take a tincture of his own private views and inclinations, ſo that he would always be, in fact, the real and ſole manager of the company; that ſuch a manager, not being himſelf perſonally concerned in the affairs of the company, or not being a competent judge of them, would always ſacrifice the welfare and true intereſt of trade, to add to the tranſient pomp of his appointment, and to ſecure the favour of placemen; that, on the contrary, every thing might be expected from a free adminiſtration, choſen by the proprietors, acting under their inſpection, and in concert with them, and ſubject to no kind of reſtraint.

The

THE government was ſenſible of the truth of theſe reaſons. It ſecured the freedom of the company by a ſolemn edict; and the ſame merchant, who by his genius had juſt given it a new exiſtence, drew up a plan of proviſionary ſtatutes, for a new form of adminiſtration.

THE intention of theſe ſtatutes was, that the company might no longer be ruled by men who often were not worthy to be its factors; that the government might no further interfere than to protect it; that it might be alike preſerved from that ſlavery under which it had ſo long groaned, and from that ſpirit of myſtery which had perpetuated its corruption; that there ſhould be a conſtant intercourſe between the managers and the proprietors; that Paris, deprived of the advantage enjoyed by the capitals of other commercial nations, of being a ſea-port, might acquire a knowledge of trade in free and peaceable aſſemblies; that the citizen might form juſt notions of that powerful tie that connects all nations together, and, by informing himſelf of the ſources of public proſperity, learn to reſpect the merchant whoſe operations contribute to it, and to deſpiſe the profeſſions that are deſtructive of it.

THESE wiſe regulations were attended with happier conſequences than could poſſibly be expected. A great activity was obſerved on all ſides. During the five years that the new adminiſtration laſted, the ſales produced annually 18,000,000 *. They had not been ſo conſiderable, even in thoſe times which

* 787,500l.

had been looked upon as the most prosperous; for, from 1726 to 1756 inclusively, they had amounted to no more than 437,376,284 livres †, which makes upon an average, in peace and war, 14,108,912‡ livres a year.

It must be confessed, that since the year 1764 the profits had not been what they were before. The difference between the purchase and the sale, which had been at least cent. per cent. was reduced to about seventy per cent. This diminution of profit was owing to the want of stock, to the ruin of the French credit in India, and to the exorbitant power of the victorious nation that had lately subdued those distant regions. The agents for the company were reduced to procure money and goods upon the most exorbitant terms. They obtained both from the English merchants, who were endeavouring to bring over to Europe the immense fortunes they had amassed in Asia.

With these impediments, and under these disagreeable circumstances, was the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies exercised, when the government thought proper to suspend it. Let us now examine what was then the situation of the company.

These measures are insufficient.

Before 1764, the number of shares amounted to 50,268. At that period the ministry, who, in 1746, 1747, and 1748, had given up to the proprietors the produce of the shares and bonds which were their property, relinquished in their favour the shares and bonds themselves, to the number of 11,835

The trade of individuals is substituted to that of the company.

State of that society

† 19,135,212l. 8s. 6d. ‡ 617,264l. 18s.

at the time of its decay.

11,835 together, to indemnify them for the expences they had incurred during the laſt war. Theſe ſhares having been cancelled, there remained but 38,432.

The wants of the company obliged them to make a call of 400 livres * per ſhare. Upwards of 34,000 ſhares paid the call. The 4000 that did not were reduced, by the terms of the edict which empowered the company to make it, to five-eighths of the value of thoſe which had paid; ſo that by this operation the number was reduced to 36,920 whole ſhares and ſix-eighths.

The dividends on the ſhares of the French company, as of all other companies, have varied according to circumſtances. In 1722 it was 100 livres †. From 1723 to 1745 it was 150 ‡. From 1746 to 1749 it was 70 §. From 1750 to 1758 it was 80 ‖. From 1759 to 1763 it was 40 ¶; and in 1764 it was but 20 livres **. This ſhews that the dividend, and the value of the ſtock, which always kept pace with it, was neceſſarily affected by the hazards of trade, and the fluctuation of popular opinion. Hence that prodigious riſe and fall in the price of the ſhares, which fell in one year from two hundred †† to one hundred piſtoles ‡‡; then roſe to 1800 livres §§, and ſoon after fell to 700 ‖‖. Yet, in the midſt of theſe revolutions, the ſtock of the company was much the ſame. But this is a calculation which the public never makes.

* 17l. 10s. † 4l. 7s. 6d. ‡ 6l. 11s. 3d. § 3l. 1s. 3d.
‖ 3l. 10s. ¶ 1l. 15s. ** 17s. 6d. †† 167l. 18s.
N. B. Each piſtole is reckoned at 16s. 9d. ‡‡ 83l. 15s.
§§ 78l. 15s. ‖‖ 30l. 12s. 6d.

It

It is determined by the circumſtance of the preſent moment, and always truſts or fears beyond the truth.

THE proprietors, who were under apprehenſions of having their fortunes reduced to half in one day, would no longer run the riſques of ſuch a ſituation. In laying-in a freſh ſtock to trade with, they deſired to ſecure the remainder of their fortune in ſuch a manner, as that the ſhares ſhould at all times bear a ſettled price, and an intereſt that could be depended upon. The government ſettled this matter by an edict iſſued out in Auguſt 1764. The XIIIth article expreſsly ſays, That, to ſecure to the proprietors a ſettled income independent of all future events of trade, a ſufficient fund ſhould be detached from that portion of the contract which was then free, to ſecure to every ſhare a capital of 1600 livres *, and an intereſt of 80 livres †; and that *neither that intereſt nor that capital ſhould, in any caſe, or for any cauſe whatſoever, be anſwerable for ſuch engagements as the company might enter into after the date of this edict.*

THE company, therefore, owed for 36,920 ſhares and ſix eighths, at the rate of 80 livres ‡ per ſhare, an intereſt amounting to 2,953,660 livres §. They paid for their ſeveral contracts 2,727,506 livres ‖, which made in all 5,681,166 livres ¶ of perpetual annuities. The life annuities amounted to 3,074,899 livres **. The ſum total of all theſe life annuities and annual payments was then 8,756,065 livres ††. How the company raiſed

* 70l. † 3l. 10s. ‡ 3l. 10s. § 129,222 l. 12s. 6d.
‖ 119,328l. 7s. 9d. ¶ 248,551l. 0s. 3d.
** 134,526l. 16s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$ †† 383,577l. 16s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

money

money to anſwer theſe ſeveral demands, ſhall be the ſubject of our next inquiry.

That great body, which had been much too deeply concerned in Law's ſcheme, had advanced him 90,000,000 of livres *. When that ſyſtem failed, the government made over to them in payment the excluſive ſale of tobacco, which then brought in three millions † a year; but they were left without a capital to trade with. This kept them in a ſtate of inaction till 1726, when the government lent them its aſſiſtance. The rapid progreſs they made aſtoniſhed all nations, and ſeemed to promiſe them a ſuperiority over the moſt flouriſhing companies. This opinion, which was the general one, emboldened the proprietors to complain that their dividends were not doubled and trebled. They thought, as well as the public, that the king's treaſury was enriched with their ſpoils. The profound ſecrecy with which every thing was carried on, greatly ſtrengthened theſe ſurmiſes.

The breaking-out of the war between France and England in 1744 diſſolved the charm. The miniſtry, too much embarraſſed in their own affairs to think of doing any thing for the company, left it to extricate itſelf. Then, indeed, every one was ſurprized to ſee that Coloſſus ready to fall, which had never yet met with any ſhock, and whoſe greateſt misfortune had been the loſs of two ſhips of a moderate value. The company would have been ruined, had not the government in 1747 declared itſelf their debtor in the ſum of

* 3,937,500l. † 131,250l.

180,000,000

180,000,000 of livres *, and engaged to pay them the intereſt of that ſum for ever at five per cent. This engagement, which was in lieu of the excluſive ſale of tobacco, is ſo important a point in the hiſtory of the company, that it would not be ſufficiently illuſtrated, if we did not trace the matter further back.

THE uſe of tobacco, which was introduced into Europe after the diſcovery of America, made no very rapid progreſs in France. The conſumption was ſo ſmall, that the firſt contract, which began the firſt of December 1674, and ended the firſt of October 1680, brought in but 500,000 livres † to the goverment the two firſt years, and 600,000 ‡ the four laſt; though the right of ſtamping pewter had been joined to this privilege. This farm of the revenue was confounded with the general farms till 1691, when it ſtill remained united to them, and was rated at 1,500,000 livres § a year. In 1697, it became once more a ſeparate farm on the ſame terms, till 1709, when it was increaſed to 100,000 livres ‖ more, till 1715. It was then renewed for three years only. The two firſt years ought to have produced 2,000,000 of livres ¶, and the laſt 200,000 ** more. At that period it was increaſed to 4,020,000 livres †† a year; but this laſted only from the firſt of October 1718 to the firſt of June 1720. Tobacco then became a mercantile commodity all over the kingdom, and continued ſo till the firſt of September

* 7,875,000l. † 21,875l. ‡ 26,250l. § 65,625l.
‖ 4,375l. ¶ 87,500l. ** 8,750l. †† 175,875l.

1721.

1721. During this ſhort interval, private people laid in ſuch a ſtock, that, when it came to be farmed out again, it could be done but at a moderate price. This contract, which was the eleventh, was for nine years, to commence on the firſt of September 1721, to the firſt of October 1730. The farmers were to give 1,300,000 livres * for the firſt thirteen months; 1,800,000 † for the ſecond year; 2,560,000 ‡ for the third; and 3,000,000 § for each of the laſt ſix years. This agreement did not take place, becauſe the India company, to whom the government owed 90,000,000 livres ‖, which had been depoſited in the royal treaſury in 1717, demanded the farm of tobacco, which had then been made over to them for ever, and which, from particular events, they had never yet enjoyed. Their petition was found to be juſt, and they obtained what they ſo warmly ſolicited.

THEY managed this farm themſelves, from the firſt of October 1723, to the laſt day of September 1730. The produce during that ſpace was 50,083,967 livres 11 ſous 9 deniers ¶; which made 7,154,852 livres 10 ſols 3 den. ** a year; out of this muſt be deducted yearly 3,042,963l. 19s. 6d. †† for the charges of preparing the land.

THESE charges were ſo enormous, that it was thought the buſineſs, which grew every day more conſiderable, would be better in the hands of the farmers-general, who would manage it at leſs ex-

* 56,875l. † 78,750l. ‡ 112,000l. § 131,250l.
‖ 3,937,500l. ¶ About 2,191,173l. 11s. 7d. ½
** About 313,024l. 16s. †† About 133,129l. 12s. 7d. ½

pence

pence by means of the clerks they employed for other purpoſes. The company accordingly farmed it for eight years, at the rate of 7,500,000 livres * for each of the firſt four years, and 8,000,000 † for each of the four laſt. This contract was continued upon the ſame terms till the month of June 1747; and the king promiſed to account with the company for the increaſe of the produce, as ſoon as it ſhould be known and aſcertained.

At this period, the king united the tobacco farm to his other duties, creating and alienating, for the uſe of the company, an annuity of nine millions ‡ for ever, upon a capital of an hundred and eighty millions §. This large compenſation was thought to be due to them for the old debt of ninety millions ‖; for the overplus of the profit upon the tobacco farm, from 1738 to 1747; and to indemnify them for the expences of the negroe trade, for the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the war, for their giving up the excluſive privilege of the trade to St. Domingo, and for the loſs of the ton duty, which had been ſuſpended ever ſince the year 1731. Yet this compenſation has been thought inadequate by ſome of the proprietors, who have diſcovered, that ever ſince the year 1758, upwards of 11,700,000 pounds weight of tobacco have been annually ſold in the kingdom at three livres ¶ a pound, though it had been bought for twenty-ſeven livres ** a hundred.

* 328,125l. † 350,000l. ‡ 393,750l. § 7,875,000l.
‖ 3,937,500l. ¶ 2s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ** 1l. 3s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$

THE nation is of a very different opinion. The managers, who prevailed upon government to acknowledge so large a debt, have been accused of sacrificing the interest of the public to that of a private society. A writer, who in our days should examine whether this accusation were well or ill-grounded, would pass for an idle man. Such a discussion would be altogether needless, since every circumstance of this transaction has been made public. It will be sufficient to observe, that it was with the nine millions * a year improperly sacrificed by the state, that the company was enabled to answer the demand of 8,756,065 livres † with which it was charged, so that the overplus remaining to them amounted to about 244,000 livres ‡ of net revenue.

IT is true, they had private simple-contract debts to the amount of 74,505,000 livres ‖; but they had in trade, in stock, or in debts to call in, 70,733,000 livres §; a sum nearly sufficient to balance their accounts.

THEIR only riches consisted therefore in moveable and unmoveable effects, to the amount of about twenty millions ¶, and the prospect of the extinction of the life annuities, which in time must bring in three millions ** a year. The actual value of this article might be reckoned equal to a clear capital of thirty millions ††.

* 393,750l. † 383,077l. 16s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ‡ 10,675l.
‖ 3,259,593l. 15s. § 3,094,568l. 15s. ¶ 875,000l.
** 131,250l. †† 1,312,500l.

INDEPENDENT of these properties, the company enjoyed some very beneficial rights. The exclusive sale of coffee had been granted them; but as public utility required that an exception should be made in 1736, with regard to coffee imported from the American islands, they obtained by way of compensation a yearly sum of 50,000 livres *, which was always duly paid. Even the privilege for Mocha coffee was cancelled in 1767, the government having allowed the importation of that of the Levant. The company obtained no indemnification on this account.

THEY had experienced a greater loss the year before. In 1720 they had been invested with the sole right of transporting slaves to the American colonies. This system soon appeared to be erroneous; and it was agreed that all the merchants in the kingdom should be at liberty to carry on the slave trade, upon condition of adding a pistole † per head to the thirteen livres ‡ granted out of the royal treasury. Supposing that 15,000 negroes were disposed of every year in the French islands, this made a clear income of 345,000 livres § for the company. This bounty, which was allowed them for a trade they were not concerned in, was taken-off in 1767, and was made-up to them by a more reasonable equivalent.

AT the first formation of the company they had obtained a gratuity of 50 livres ‖ upon every ton

* 2,187l. 10s. † 16s. 9d. ‡ 11s. 4d. ½ § 15,093l. 15s. ‖ 21. 3s. 9d.

of goods they ſhould export; and of 75* upon every ton they ſhould import from abroad. The miniſtry, upon the ſuppreſſion of the bounty upon negroes, increaſed the gratuity upon every ton exported to 75 livres*, and upon every ton imported to 80†. If we rate both at 6000 tons a year, we ſhall find a produce of above a million ‡ for the company, including the 50,000 livres § they received upon the coffee.

WHILE the income of the company remained entire, their expences were leſſened. By the edict of 1764, the iſlands of France and Bourbon were become the property of the government, who engaged to fortify and defend them. By this arrangement the company was exonerated of two millions ‖ a year, without the leaſt detriment to the excluſive trade they enjoyed in thoſe two iſlands.

WITH all theſe ſeemingly proſperous circumſtances, the debts of the company were daily increaſing. This muſt inevitably happen, as their income, together with the profits of their trade, was not ſufficient to defray the expences of carrying it on, and the charges annexed to the crown, which amounted together to eight millions ¶ a year. They might even exceed this, as by their nature they were ſuſceptible of endleſs increaſe, according to the political views of government, which is the ſole judge of their importance and neceſſity.

* 3l. 5s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$ † 3l. 10s. ‡ 43,750l. § 2,187l. 10s.
‖ 87,500l. ¶ 350,000l.

In ſo unfortunate a ſituation, the company could not poſſibly ſupport itſelf without the aſſiſtance of government. But for ſome time paſt the council of Lewis XV. had appeared to be very indifferent about the exiſtence of that great body. At laſt an arret of council was iſſued, bearing date the 13th of Auguſt 1769, by which the king ſuſpended the excluſive privilege of the India company, and granted to all his ſubjects the liberty of navigating and trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. However, in granting this unexpected freedom, the government thought proper to lay it under ſome reſtraint. The arret which opens this new tract to private navigators, requires them to provide themſelves with paſſports, which are to be freely given by the adminiſtrators of the India company. It obliges them to make their returns to Port l'Orient, and no where elſe. It eſtabliſhes a duty by way of Indulto on all goods imported from India; which, by a ſecond arret of council, iſſued on the ſixth of September following, was fixed at five per cent. on all goods coming from India and China, and at three per cent. upon all commodities of the growth of the iſlands of France and Bourbon.

The arret of the 13th of Auguſt, by only ſuſpending the privilege of the company, ſeemed to leave to the proprietors the power of reſuming it: but, as they ſaw no probability of ever being able to do this, they wiſely determined to liquidate their concerns in ſuch a manner, as to ſecure their creditors, and the remains of their own fortunes.

For this purpose they offered to give up to the king all the company's ships, thirty in number; all the warehouses and other buildings belonging to them at Port l'Orient and in India; the property of their factories, with the manufactures dependent on them; all naval and military stores; and, lastly, eight hundred slaves which they had reserved in the islands. All these articles were valued at thirty millions * by the proprietors, who at the same time demanded the payment of 16,500,000 livres † which were due to them by the government.

The king agreed to the proposal, but chose to lessen the purchase-money: not that the effects were not of still greater value while they remained in the hands of the company; but, being made over to the government, they brought an additional incumbrance upon it. So that, instead of 46,500,000 livres ‡ which the proprietors demanded, the prince, to clear all accounts with them, created a perpetual annuity for their benefit of 1,200,000 livres §, upon a capital of thirty millions ‖. The edict for that purpose was issued out in January 1770.

This new contract the company mortgaged for twelve millions ¶, which they borrowed upon life annuities at ten per cent. and by a lottery in February following. This money was borrowed to enable them to fulfil the engagements they had entered into when they undertook the last expeditions; but it was insufficient; so that, finding

* 1,312,500l. † 721,875l. ‡ 2,039,375l. § 52,500l.
‖ 1,312,500l. ¶ 525,000l.

themselves

themſelves utterly unable to raiſe more, the proprietors, at their meeting on the 7th April 1770, made over their whole property to the king, except the capital that had been mortgaged to the proprietors of the ſhares.

The principal articles comprized in this ceſſion, conſiſted in the abolition of 4,200,000 livres * in life annuities; of that part of the contract of nine millions † which exceeded the capital of the ſhares; of the hotel of Paris; of the India goods expected home in 1770 and 1771, ſuppoſed to be worth 26,000,000 of livres ‡; and, laſtly, of three or four millions § of debts, to be called in from debtors who were moſtly ſolvent, in India, in the iſles of France and Bourbon, and at San Domingo. The proprietors engaged at the ſame time to furniſh the king with a ſum of 14,768,000 livres ‖, to be raiſed by way of a call, which was fixed at 400 livres ¶ per ſhare. The government, in accepting theſe ſeveral offers, engaged on their part to pay all the perpetual and life annuities which the company was bound to pay; all their other engagements, amounting to about forty-five millions **; all the penſions and half-pays granted by the company, amounting to 80,000 livres †† a-year; laſtly, to ſtand to all the charges and riſques attending a liquidation that muſt neceſſarily continue ſome years.

* 183,750l. † 393,750l. ‡ 1,137,500l. § About 153,000l. upon an average. ‖ 646,100l. ¶ 17l. 10s. ** 1,968,750l. †† 3,500l.

THE capital of each ſhare, which by the edict of Auguſt 1764, had been fixed at 1600 livres †, bearing an intereſt of 80 livres ‡, the king now raiſed to 2500 livres §, bearing intereſt 125 livres ‖ a year. The new intereſt was made ſubject to a deduction of a tenth, and it was agreed that this deduction ſhould be annually appropriated to the paying off of the ſhares by lot, on the footing of their capital of 2500 livres ¶; ſo that the intereſt on the ſhares thus paid off, would increaſe the ſinking fund till the whole of the ſhares was finally paid off.

THESE reſpective conditions are recorded in an arret of council, of the 8th of April, including a report of the deliberations held the day before in a general meeting of the proprietors, and confirmed by letters patent bearing date the 22d of the ſame month. In conſequence of theſe agreements, the call has been paid, a ſufficiency for the reimburſement of the ſhares, to the number of two hundred and twenty, has been taken out every year, and the ſimple-contract debts of the company have been duly paid when their time was elapſed.

FROM all theſe particulars, it is no eaſy matter to frame an idea of the actual mode of exiſtence of the India company, and of the legal ſtate of the trade they carried on. This company, which at preſent has no property, no buſineſs, no object, cannot however be conſidered as being entirely

† 70l. ‡ 3l. 10s. § 109l. 7s. 6d.
‖ 5l. 9s. 4d. ½ ¶ 109l. 7s. 6d.

deſtroyed,

deſtroyed, ſince the proprietors have reſerved the joint ſtock that was mortgaged for their ſhares; and that they have a common cheſt, and deputies to ſuperintend their intereſts. On the other hand, their charter has been ſuſpended; but it is only ſuſpended, and is not included among the articles which the company has ceded to the king. The law by which it was granted is ſtill in force; and the ſhips that are fitted out for the Indian ſeas, cannot ſail without a permiſſion in the name of the company. So that the freedom which has been granted is but a precarious one; and if the proprietors ſhould offer to reſume their trade, with a ſufficient ſtock to carry it on, they would have an undoubted right to do it without any new law to impower them. But except this nominal right, which in fact is much the ſame as if it did not exiſt, as the proprietors are not in a condition to exerciſe it; all their other rights, properties, and factories, are now in the hands of government. Let us take a curſory view of thoſe ſettlements, beginning with Malabar.

Preſent ſtate of the French upon the coaſt of Malabar.

BETWEEN the provinces of Canara and Calicut, lies a diſtrict which extends eighteen leagues along the coaſt, and is at moſt ſeven or eight leagues broad. The country, which is very unequal, abounds with pepper and cocoa-trees. It is divided into ſeveral leſs diſtricts, ſubject to as many Indian lords, who are all vaſſals to the houſe of Colaſtry. The head of this Bramin family is always to confine his whole attention to what concerns the worſhip of the gods. It would be beneath

neath his dignity to ſtoop to profane matters; and the reins of government are given to his neareſt relation. The country is divided into two provinces. In the largeſt, called the Irouvenate, is the Engliſh factory of Tellichery, and the Dutch factory of Cananor. Theſe two nations ſhare the pepper trade between them; but the Engliſh commonly carry off 1,500,000 pounds weight, and there ſeldom remains more than 500,000 for the Dutch.

The ſecond province, called Cartenate, extends but five leagues along the coaſt. Here the French were called-in by the natives in 1722, with a view to engage them to act againſt the Engliſh; but an accommodation having taken place, and made their aſſiſtance unneceſſary, they were forced to relinquiſh a poſt where they promiſed themſelves ſome advantages. Fired with reſentment and ambition, they returned in greater numbers in 1725, and eſtabliſhed themſelves ſword-in-hand on the mouth of the river Mahé. Notwithſtanding this act of violence, they obtained of the prince, who governed that diſtrict, an excluſive right to the pepper trade. This favour was ſo great an advantage to them, that it gave riſe to a colony of 6,000 Indians, who cultivated 6,350 cocoa trees, 3,967 areka, and 7,762 pepper trees. Such was the ſtate of this ſettlement, when the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it in 1760.

The ſame ſpirit of deſtruction that they had ſhewn in all their conqueſts, influenced them at Mahé. Their intention was to pull down the houſes, and diſperſe

diſperſe the inhabitants. The ſovereign of that country diſſuaded them from their purpoſe. All was ſpared, except the fortifications. When the French returned to their factory, they found every thing much in the ſame condition as they had left it. It is their intereſt to ſecure the advantages they enjoy, and it is no leſs incumbent on them to endeavour to improve them.

Mahé is ſurrounded with hills, on which were erected five forts, that no longer exiſt. Theſe works were too numerous, though ſome precautions are abſolutely neceſſary. It is not proper to be perpetually expoſed to the depredations of the Nayers, who have formerly attempted to plunder and deſtroy the colony, and who might poſſibly have ſtill the ſame intentions, in order to put themſelves under the protection of the Engliſh at Tellichery, which is but three leagues diſtant from Mahé.

Besides the poſts requiſite to ſecure the place itſelf, it is very neceſſary to fortify the entrance of the river. Since the Marattas have got ſea-ports of their own, they infeſt the ſea about Malabar with their piracies. Thoſe banditti even attempt to land wherever they think there is ſome booty to be got. Mahé would not be ſecure from their attacks, if it contained money or commodities to tempt them.

The French might make themſelves ample amends for any expences they ſhould incur, if they did but carry on their trade with ſpirit and ſkill. Their factory is the beſt ſituated for the pepper

pepper trade; and the country would afford 2,500,000 pounds weight of that commodity. What could not be consumed in Europe might be sold in China, on the Red Sea, and at Bengal. A pound of pepper would stand them in twelve sous *, and they would sell it for twenty-five or thirty †.

This advantage, considerable as it is, would be increased by the profits upon European goods which would be carried over to Mahé. Those who are best acquainted with that factory are of opinion, that it will be an easy matter to dispose of 400,000 weight of iron, 200,000 of lead, 25,000 of copper, 2000 firelocks, 20,000 weight of gunpowder, 50 anchors or graplings, 50 bales of cloth, 50,000 ells of sail-cloth, a good quantity of quicksilver, and about 200 casks of wine or brandy, for the French settled in the colony, or for the English in the neighbourhood. These several articles together would produce at least 384,000 livres ‡, of which 153,600 § would be clear gain, allowing the profit to be 40 per cent. Another advantage attending this circulation is, that there will always be a stock in the factory, which will enable them to purchase the productions of the country in the seasons of the year when they are cheapest.

The greatest obstacle to trade is the custom-house established in the colony. Half the duties belong to the sovereign of that country, and this has always been a subject of contention. The

* About 6 d. ¼. † About 1 s. 4 d. on an average. ‡ 16,800 l. § 6,720 l.

English

Engliſh of Tellichery, who laboured under the ſame grievance, have found means to prevent all diſputes about theſe duties, by paying a certain yearly ſum as an equivalent. The French might do the ſame; but they cannot expect that the prince would agree to it, unleſs they previouſly pay him the ſums he has lent, and no longer refuſe him the tribute ſtipulated for the benefit of living peaceably upon his territories. Matters cannot be ſo eaſily adjuſted at Bengal.

Preſent ſtate of the French at Bengal.

France has engaged, by the treaty of 1763, to erect no fortifications and keep no troops in that rich and extenſive country. The Engliſh, who are ſovereigns there, will never ſuffer the French to deviate from what they have required. So that Chandernagore, which before the laſt war reckoned 60,000 ſouls, and has now but 24,000, is, and always will be, entirely an open place.

To this misfortune of a precarious ſituation may be added injuries and hardſhips of every kind. Not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of unlimited authority, the Engliſh have been guilty of the moſt ſcandalous enormities. They have inſulted the French in their work-ſhops; ſeduced their workmen, cut the linens off of the looms; inſiſted that the manufacturers ſhould do no work but for them in the three beſt months of the year; and that their own ladings ſhould be picked out and completed, before any thing was removed out of the work-ſhops. The ſcheme which the French and Dutch had contrived together, of making an exact eſtimate of the number of weavers, taking

only half between them, and leaving the reſt to the Engliſh, has been conſidered as an inſult. That ruling nation have proceeded ſo far as to declare, that they would have their factors buy the goods in Chandernagore; and the French have been forced to ſubmit to this hardſhip, or they would have been excluded from every market in Bengal. In a word, they have ſo much abuſed the unjuſt right of victory, that a philoſopher might be tempted to wiſh for the ruin of their liberty, were not the people infinitely more oppreſſive and cruel under the government of one man, than under a government tempered by the influence of many.

As long as things remain upon the preſent footing in that opulent part of Aſia, the French will meet with perpetual hardſhips and mortifications, and therefore no ſolid and laſting advantage can accrue to trade. They would be reſcued from this diſgrace, if they could exchange Chandernagore for Chatigan.

CHATIGAN is ſituated on the confines of Arracan. The Portugueſe, who in the days of their proſperity endeavoured to get all the important poſts in India into their own hands, made a conſiderable eſtabliſhment at that place. Thoſe who were ſettled there threw off the yoke of their native country, when it became a part of the Spaniſh dominions, chuſing rather to turn pirates than to be ſlaves. They long infeſted the neighbouring coaſts and ſeas with their depredations. At laſt they were attacked by the Moguls, who raiſed a colony upon their

their ruins, powerful enough to prevent any inroads which the people of Arracan and Pegu might be tempted to make into Bengal. This place then ſunk into obſcurity till 1758, when the Engliſh arrived and ſettled there.

The climate is healthy, the waters excellent, and proviſions are in great plenty; the landing is eaſy, and the anchorage ſafe. The continent and the iſland of Sandiva make a tolerable harbour. The rivers Barramputri and Etki, which are branches of the Ganges, or at leaſt communicate with it, greatly facilitate commercial operations. If Chatigan is further off of Patna, Caſſimbuzar, and ſome other markets, than the European colonies on the river Hughly; it is near Jogdia, Dacca, and all the manufactures of the lower river. It is a matter of no conſequence, whether ſhips of burden can or cannot enter the Ganges on that ſide, as the inland navigation is never carried on but with boats.

Though the knowledge they had of theſe advantages had determined the Engliſh to ſeize upon Chatigan, we are apt to think they would have given it up at the laſt peace, to get rid of the French, and remove them from a place which lies too near them, and which long habit has endeared to them. We even preſume, that at Chatigan the Engliſh would have deſiſted from thoſe conditions they required at Chandernagore, which ſtamp a diſgrace upon the poſſeſſors, more detrimental to the ſchemes of commerce than it is poſſible to conceive. Trade is a free profeſſion. The ſea,

the voyages, the riſque, and the viciſſitudes of fortune, all inſpire a love of independence. This gives life and ſpirit to trade, which, when confined, languiſhes, and is loſt.

THE preſent opportunity is, perhaps, a favourable one, to think of the exchange we propoſe. The fortifications which the Engliſh had begun to erect at Chatigan having been thrown down by frequent earthquakes, they have taken a diſlike to the place. As to the French, this inconvenience, great as it is, would be preferable to that of living in a defenceleſs town. It is better to ſtrive againſt nature than againſt men, and be expoſed to the ſhocks of the earth than to the inſults of nations. The French, though reſtrained at Bengal, fortunately meet with ſome compenſation, enjoying a better ſituation on the coaſt of Coromandel.

Preſent ſituation of the French upon the coaſt of Coromandel.

To the north of that very extenſive coaſt, they poſſeſs Yanam, in the province of Rajahmandry. This factory, which has no land belonging to it, and is ſituated nine miles from the mouth of the river Ingerom, was formerly a very flouriſhing one. From miſtaken motives it was neglected about the year 1748. It would, however, afford goods to the value of 4 or 500,000 livres *, as the cotton manufactures are very conſiderable in that neighbourhood, and the cottons remarkably fine and good. It has been found by experience to be a good market for diſpoſing of European cloth.

* About 19,700l.

The

The trade of this place would be more lucrative, if they were not obliged to ſhare the profit with the Engliſh, who have a ſmall ſettlement within two miles of the French.

THE competition is much more detrimental to their intereſt at Maſulipatam. The French, who formerly were maſters of the whole town, but have nothing left now except the factory they had before 1749, cannot poſſibly contend with the Engliſh, who make them pay duty for all their imports and exports, and enjoy beſides all the favour in their own trade which ſovereignty can command. Things being thus circumſtanced, the French confine their dealings to the purchaſe of ſome fine handkerchiefs and other callicoes, to the value of 150,000 livres*. It is far otherwiſe at Karical.

THAT town, ſituated in the kingdom of Tanjour, on one of the branches of the Caleroon, which will bear ſhips of 150 tons burden, was ceded to the company in 1738, by a dethroned king, who was in want of protection. Having been reſtored before he had fulfilled his engagements, he retracted the gift he had made. A nabob attacked the place with his army, and in 1739 gave it up to the French, who were in friendſhip with him. Soon after this, the ungrateful and perfidious prince was ſtrangled by the intrigues of his uncles; and his ſucceſſor, who had inherited his enemies with his throne, being deſirous of obtaining the friendſhip of a powerful nation, confirmed them in their poſſeſſion. The Engliſh took the place in 1760,

* 6,562l. 10s.

and blew up the fortifications. It was afterwards reſtored to the French, who returned thither in 1765.

In its preſent ſtate, Karical is an open place, which may contain 15,000 inhabitants, moſt of them employed in weaving ordinary handkerchiefs and cottons, for the wear of the natives. The territory belonging to it, which has been conſiderably increaſed by the conceſſions which the king of Tanjour made in 1749, is now once more what it was at firſt, two leagues in length, and one league in the broadeſt part. It is compoſed of fifteen hamlets, of which one only deſerves our notice; this is called Tirumale-Rayenpatnam, and contains no leſs than 25,000 ſouls. They weave and paint Perſians that are pretty fine, fit for Batavia and the Philippine iſlands. The Coolies and Mohammedans have ſmall veſſels, with which they trade to Ceylon, and along the coaſt.

France may draw annually from this ſettlement, two hundred bales of cottons or handkerchiefs fit for Europe, and a large quantity of rice for the ſubſiſtence of her other colonies.

All goods bought at Karical, Yanam, and Maſulipatam, are carried to Pondicherry, the chief ſettlement of the French in India.

This town, which roſe from ſuch ſmall beginnings, in time became a great, powerful, and famous city. The ſtreets, which are all ſtrait, and moſt of them broad, are lined with two rows of trees, which keep them cool even in the heat of the day. The moſt remarkable public edifices are a moſque, two pagodas, two churches, and the

the governor's houſe, which is reckoned the moſt magnificent building in the eaſt. They had erected a ſmall citadel in the year 1704; but it is of no uſe, ſince they have been allowed to build houſes all round it. To ſupply the loſs of this defence, three ſides of the town had been fortified with a rampart, a ditch, baſtions, and a glacis which was unfiniſhed in ſome places. The road was defended by ſome batteries judiciouſly placed.

THE town, which was full a league in circumference, contained 70,000 inhabitants, of which 4000 were Europeans, Meſtees, or Topaſſes. There were at moſt 10,000 Mohammedans; the reſt were Indians, 15,000 of which were Chriſtians, and the others of ſeventeen or eighteen different caſts or tribes. Three villages, dependent on the town, might contain 10,000 ſouls.

SUCH was the ſtate of the colony, when the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it in the beginning of the year 1761, utterly deſtroyed it, and turned out the inhabitants. Others may, perhaps, examine whether the barbarous right of war could juſtify ſuch enormities. Let us turn away our eyes from ſo many cruelties committed by a free, magnanimous, and enlightened nation; and conſider only the reſolution France has taken to reſtore Pondicherry to its former ſplendour. Every thing concurs to juſtify the wiſdom of this choice.

THIS town, like all others on the coaſt of Coromandel, has no harbour, but it has a much more commodious road. The ſhips can anchor cloſe to the ſhore, under the cannon of the fortifications.

Its territory, which is three leagues long and one league broad, is nothing more than a barren ſand-bank on the ſea-coaſt; but the greateſt part is fit for the culture of rice, vegetables, and a root called chaya, which is uſed in dying. Two ſmall rivers that croſs the country, but are not navigable, afford excellent water for the ſame purpoſe, particularly for the blue dye. Three miles to the north-eaſt of the town is a hill, which riſes a hundred toiſes above the level of the ſea, and is a guide to ſhips at the diſtance of ſeven or eight leagues; which is a very conſiderable advantage upon ſo flat a coaſt. At the top of this hill is a very large body of water, that has been collecting for ages, and, after refreſhing and fertilizing a ſpacious territory, flows down to water the grounds about Pondicherry. Laſtly, the colony is favourably ſituated for the reception of proviſions and merchandiſe from the Carnatic, the kingdoms of Myſore and Tanjour.

Such were the important reaſons which determined France to rebuild Pondicherry. As ſoon as her agents appeared on the 11th of April 1765, the unfortunate Indians, who had been diſperſed by the calamities of war, and by political intrigues, flocked thither in great numbers. By the beginning of the year 1770, there were 27,000 who had rebuilt their ruined houſes. They are all brought up in the idea that no man can be happy who does not die in the very place where he firſt ſaw the light. This prejudice, ſo pleaſing to them, and which it may be ſo uſeful to keep up, will undoubtedly make them all return, as ſoon as the

town

town is incloſed. The weavers, the dyers, the painters, the merchants, thoſe who have ſome property to preſerve, only wait for this ſecurity to follow their inclination.

In their preſent ſtate, the French factories in India are very expenſive, and the returns from them inconſiderable. Unfortunately this diſadvantage is not compenſated by the iſlands of France and Bourbon, which have not attained to that degree of proſperity that might be expected.

Preſent ſituation of the French in the Iſle of France.

The latter of theſe iſlands was much extolled; but more ſpeculation than induſtry was beſtowed upon it, and the owners loſt their time in conjectures concerning the uſe it might be put to.

Some were inclined to make a mart of it, where all India goods ſhould center. They were to be brought thither on India bottoms, and then ſhipped on board French veſſels, which were never to go any further. A double advantage was thought to ariſe from this ſcheme; firſt, in the leſſening of expences, as both the pay and the maintenance of India ſailors is very trifling; and, ſecondly, in the preſervation of the ſhips crews, which are often deſtroyed by too long a voyage, and ſtill more frequently by the climate, eſpecially at Bengal and at Arabia. This ſyſtem, which ought, perhaps, to have been adopted, was conſidered as impracticable, on account of the ſuppoſed neceſſity of maintaining a formidable fleet on the ſeas of Aſia, to prevent or check the inſults that are often committed in thoſe parts.

Others were of opinion that the inhabitants of the Iſle of France ſhould be allowed to trade to

India, which they had never yet been ſuffered to do. The ſupporters of this ſyſtem maintained that the propoſed freedom would prove an abundant ſource of wealth to the colony, and conſequently to the mother-country. They might be in the right, but the trials that have been made have not proved ſucceſsful; and, without examining whether this innovation had been judiciouſly conducted, it was reſolved that the iſland ſhould be entirely confined to agriculture.

THIS new regulation gave riſe to freſh miſtakes. Men were ſent from Europe to the colony, who neither underſtood huſbandry, nor were accuſtomed to labour. The lands were diſtributed at a venture, and without diſtinguiſhing what was to be cleared from what did not want it. Money was advanced to the planters, not in proportion to their induſtry, but to the intereſt they could make with the government. The company, who got cent. per cent. upon the commodities the colony drew from Europe, and fifty per cent. upon thoſe that were ſent in from India, required that the produce of the country ſhould be delivered into their ware-houſes at a very low price. The oppreſſion of the monopoly was aggravated by the tyranny of endleſs and needleſs ſervices. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the company, who had kept all the power in their own hands, broke the engagements they had entered into with their ſubjects, or rather with their ſlaves.

UNDER ſuch a government, no improvements could be expected. Nothing was carried on with ſteadineſs

ſteadineſs. The culture of cotton, indigo, ſugar, arnotto, pepper, tea, cocoa, were all tried, but with ſo little attention, that no advantage was procured from them. In purſuing chimerical projects, the eſſential cultures were neglected. Though in the year 1765, there were in the colony 1469 white people, beſides the troops; 1587 Indians or free negroes; 11,881 ſlaves; their productions did not amount to more than 320,650 pounds weight of wheat, 47,430 pounds of rice, 1,570,040 pounds of maize, 142,700 pounds of kidney-beans, 135,500 pounds of oats. Thoſe who had an opportunity of ſeeing and obſerving the agriculture of the Iſle of France, found it little better than what they had ſeen among the ſavages.

Some uſeful alterations have been made in the colony ſince it has been in the hands of government. The culture of coffee has ſince been introduced there, as it had long been at Bourbon. This has been attended with ſo much ſucceſs, that there is reaſon to expect, that ſix or ſeven millions weight may, in time, be gathered, if a prudent adminiſtration will only ſupply the means of improving this culture; ſince, without ſuch aſſiſtance, no colony can poſſibly proſper. Theſe hopes have been encouraged by the proſpect of another advantage.

It is well known that, for theſe two hundred years, the Dutch have been enriching themſelves by the ſale of cloves and nutmegs. To ſecure to themſelves the excluſive trade of theſe articles, they have enſlaved or utterly deſtroyed the nation that was in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſpices; and, leſt the price

of them ſhould fall even in their own hands, they have rooted up moſt of the trees, and frequently burn the fruit of thoſe they had preſerved. This infamous avidity, which has ſo often excited the indignation of other nations, ſo ſtrongly exaſperated Mr. Poivre (who had travelled all over Aſia as a naturaliſt and a philoſopher), that he availed himſelf of the authority he was intruſted with in the Iſle of France, and ſent men into the leaſt frequented parts of the Moluccas, to ſearch for what avarice had hitherto witholden from the reſt of the world. The labours of thoſe intrepid and ſagacious navigators in whom he confided were crowned with ſucceſs.

On the 24th of June 1770, they brought to the Iſle of France 400 nutmeg-trees; 10,000 nutmegs, either growing or ready to grow; 70 clove-trees, and a cheſt of cloves, ſome of which were growing, and already ſprung up.

This rich prize was diſtributed amongſt the coloniſts, to try all the different ſoils, and every aſpect. Moſt of the young plants died, and the reſt will not probably bear any fruit. But, whatever may happen, the Iſle of France muſt always be allowed to be one of the moſt valuable poſſeſſions for any nation deſirous of trading to Aſia.

It is ſituated in the African ſeas, juſt at the entrance of the Indian ocean. As it lies a little out of the common track, its expeditions can be carried on with greater ſecrecy. Thoſe who wiſh it was nearer our continent, do not conſider that, if it were ſo, it would be impoſſible to reach the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel in a month's time,

time, and the moſt diſtant gulphs in two months at moſt, which is an ineſtimable advantage to a nation that has no ſea-port in India. This iſland, though in the ſame latitude as the barren and ſcorching coaſts of Africa, is temperate and healthful. The ſoil is ſtony, but tolerably fertile. Experience has ſhewn that it will produce moſt of the neceſſaries, and even of the luxuries of life. Whatever it may want may be ſupplied from Madagaſcar, which abounds with proviſions; and from Bourbon, where the inhabitants have retained their ſimplicity of manners, and a taſte for huſbandry. The iron that may be wanted, and cannot be procured from thoſe two iſlands, might be digged out of their own mines.

It behoves the court of Verſailles to fortify the Iſle of France and Pondicherry, if it will have any ſhare in the trade of India.

GREAT BRITAIN ſees, with a jealous eye, her rivals poſſeſſed of a ſettlement which may prove the ruin of her flouriſhing trade with Aſia. At the breaking-out of a war, her utmoſt efforts will certainly be aimed at a colony that threatens her richeſt treaſures. What a misfortune for France, ſhould ſhe ſuffer herſelf to be deprived of it!

YET this is by no means improbable, if we conſider that hitherto there has been no ſettled plan for fortifying this iſland; that the means have always been wanting, or miſapplied; that the miniſtry of Lewis XV. have conſtantly waited for the diſpatches of the adminiſtrators to come to a determination, juſt as one would wait for the return of a courier from the frontiers. Far from ſuppoſing that the beſiegers would meet with an inſurmountable reſiſtance, it is to be feared they would

would ſucceed in their deſign by the forces they have in India, without any ſuccours from Europe.

But it is now time to deliver our opinion without reſerve. Whoever ſurveys the coaſts of the Iſle of France, muſt be aſtoniſhed to ſee them every where acceſſible to boats. Though they are ſurrounded with reefs, there are many bays where troops may be landed under cover of the ſhips guns.

In thoſe parts of the iſland where veſſels are obliged to keep further out, the ſea is ſo calm and ſmooth between the reef and the land, that boats may come up in the night without the leaſt danger.

If in ſome places between the reef and the land the water is too ſhallow for the boats to come aſhore, there the troops may land, becauſe the water will not come up to their knees. The ſea is ſo calm between the land and the reefs, that this landing may be effected with the greateſt ſafety. A retreat is more eaſily ſecured in caſe of reſiſtance, and the boats will be leſs expoſed while the landing is carried on.

This is the true idea we are to frame of the Iſle of France; for, if we ſometimes meet with a point where a boat cannot land, we are ſure of finding an opening at twenty toiſes to the right or left. The enemy therefore will never attempt to force a landing, unleſs they are too raſh and ignorant of the ſituation. As it is impoſſible to guard a coaſt that meaſures forty leagues, there will always be ſome defenceleſs place fit for landing.

During the laſt war, batteries had been erected all round the iſland, which, pointing to the ſea, could

could only fire upon ships anchored at a distance, or under sail. Some able engineers have discovered that these batteries, erected at a great expence, served no other purpose but to divide the forces; that they would be left without defence, as they were useless; and that they would not resist the fire of the ships, which the best fortifications cannot stand against. They are now abandoned, and nothing has been substituted in their room.

The harbour on the north-west side is the capital part of the island, and must be the enemy's principal object in their plan for an attack. The nature of the ground will not admit of fortifying it in such a manner as to enable it to stand a siege. This should be secured from a surprise; and a central spot in the internal part of the country should be fortified, from whence, by means of communications properly disposed, the forces of the colony might be sent with expedition to any part where they might be wanted.

With such a post of defence as a last resource, the enemy would be obliged to fight a number of battles before the island could be subdued. Neither could this be effected, if the roads cut through the woods, and which lead from the internal parts of the island to the sea-shore, were so artfully contrived as to facilitate the march of the besieged towards the shore, and at the same time to obstruct the progress of the enemy towards the inland parts. The nature of the country will admit of this: it is full of ravines which must be crossed, and of mountains which interrupt the march. It is an easy matter to seize the most advantageous situation.

However,

However, there is so necessary and absolute a connection between the Isle of France and Pondicherry, that those two possessions are entirely dependent on each other; for, without the Isle of France, there would be no protection for the settlements in India; and, without Pondicherry, the Isle of France would be exposed to the invasion of the English from Asia as well as from Europe.

The Isle of France and Pondicherry, when considered as having a necessary and mutual connection, will be a security to one another. Pondicherry will protect the Isle of France, as being the rival of Madrass, which the English must always cover with their land and sea forces; and, on the other hand, the Isle of France will always be ready to succour Pondicherry, or to act offensively, as circumstances shall require.

From these principles it appears how necessary it is to put Pondicherry immediately in a state of defence. Ever since the year 1764, private interest, that clashes with that of the nation, has made it a matter of doubt which was the best plan of fortification for this important place. Considerable sums have already been expended upon this point, and without any effect, because they have been successively laid out upon contrary systems. It would be needless to dwell upon the mischiefs attending these perpetual irresolutions.

When the Isle of France and Pondicherry are once put in a proper posture of defence, trade may then be thought of, which ceased to exist from the moment it became free. Indeed the voyages to China

China have continued; thoſe to the iſlands of France and Bourbon have even increaſed: but, except one or two expeditions, which were owing to particular circumſtances, no prudent merchant has ſent his property to Malabar, Coromandel, or Bengal; and the few, who have ventured to do it, have been ruined. It could not be otherwiſe; and yet no inference can be drawn from thence in favour of excluſive privileges.

The French being once firmly eſtabliſhed in India, will ſhake off the oppreſſion which the Engliſh impoſed upon them.

It may be remembered, that the ruin of the company, which would have happened of itſelf, was haſtened by avarice and animoſity. Political views, which had had no ſhare in this event, had not paved the way for the gradual introduction of that public and open trade which was to ſupply the place of the trade carried on by an excluſive charter. The ſudden tranſition, therefore, from one to the other, could not poſſibly ſucceed. Before the new ſyſtem had been adopted, private merchants ought to have been inſenſibly, and by degrees, employed to continue the commerce in lieu of the company. They ſhould have been inſtructed how to acquire a thorough knowledge of the ſeveral branches of a trade to which they were utter ſtrangers. It would have been neceſſary to allow them time to form connections in the factories; and to favour and aſſiſt them in their firſt expeditions.

But all theſe precautions would ſtill have been inſufficient to inſure the ſucceſs of the French traders in India. It was impoſſible they ſhould be able to ſtrive againſt the Engliſh, who, being maſters of every branch of trade, and in all places, had all the advantages

tages resulting from power, and from the loose principles which prosperity inspires, to enable them to defeat all attempts of this kind. In whatever manner, therefore, or in whatever shape, the trade of France was carried on, it was a necessary consequence of the situation of affairs that it must suffer greatly. It would undoubtedly meet with less opposition, if the court of Versailles were to put the settlements in India in a condition to grant that protection which every sovereign owes to his subjects throughout his dominions. This opposition would still be lessened in a greater degree, if the British ministry would watch over the execution of treaties with that steadiness which justice requires. But this oppression, equally disgraceful to the nation that suffers from it, and to the nation which allows it, can never be effectually removed, but by restoring the balance between them; and unfortunately this can only be done by a war.

FAR be it from us to suggest any idea that would tend to rekindle the flames of discord. Rather let the voice of reason and philosophy be heard by the rulers of the world. May all sovereigns, after so many ages of error, learn to prefer the virtuous glory of making a few men happy, to the mad ambition of reigning over wasted regions, and people groaning under the weight of oppression! May all men become brethren, accustom themselves to consider the universe as one family under the eye of one common father! But these wishes, which are those of every sensible and humane man, will appear as idle dreams to ambitious ministers, who hold

hold the reins of empire. Their busy and restless disposition will still shed torrents of blood.

Some pitiful commercial interest will again arm the French and the English. Though Great Britain, in most of her wars, has aimed chiefly at destroying the industry of her neighbours; and though the superiority of her naval forces may still keep up this hope, which has so often been disappointed; we may safely foretell that she would chuse to remove the scene of action from the seas of Asia, where she would have so little to gain, and so much to lose. That power is not ignorant of the secret wishes formed on all sides for the overthrow of an edifice, which eclipses all the rest. The subah of Bengal is secretly exasperated that he has not even the appearance of authority left. The subah of the Decan is inconsolable to see his commerce under the controul of a foreign power. The nabob of Arcot endeavours to dispel the jealousies of his tyrants. The Marattas are exasperated to find nothing but obstacles to their depredations. All the powers in those parts, either are actually enslaved, or think themselves on the eve of being so. England, we may presume, would not wish to see the French at the head of such a confederacy. On the contrary, we may venture to foretell that a strict neutrality for India would be the wisest plan they could pursue, and one they would most readily adopt.

But would this system be as eligible for their rivals? Certainly not. The French are aware, that warlike preparations made at the Isle of France

France might be employed with advantage; that the conquefts of the Engliſh are too extenſive not to be open to attacks; and that, ſince their experienced officers are returned home, the Britiſh poſſeſſions in Indoſtan are only guarded by young people, who are more intent upon making their fortunes than upon military exerciſes. It is, therefore, to be preſumed, that a warlike nation would eagerly ſeize an opportunity of repairing their former misfortunes. At the ſight of their ſtandards, all theſe oppreſſed ſovereigns would take the field; and the rulers of India, ſurrounded with enemies, and attacked at once on the north and on the ſouth, by ſea and by land, would infallibly be overpowered.

THEN the French, conſidered as the deliverers of Indoſtan, would emerge from that ſtate of humiliation into which their own miſconduct hath plunged them. They would become the idols of the princes and people of Aſia, provided the revolution they brought about proved to them a leſſon of moderation. Their trade would be extenſive and flouriſhing, ſo long as they knew how to be juſt. But this proſperity would end in ſome fatal cataſtrophe, ſhould an inordinate ambition prompt them to plunder, ravage, and oppreſs. To give ſtability to their ſituation, they muſt even, by noble and generous proceedings, oblige their rivals to overlook their advantages. No great degree of magnanimity will be requiſite, patiently to view the operations of the northern nations of Europe in the ſeas of Aſia.

BOOK V.

Trade of Denmark, Oſtend, Sweden, Pruſſia, Spain, and Ruſſia, to the Eaſt Indies. Some important inquiries concerning the connections of Europe with India.

BOOK V.

Ancient revolutions in Denmark.

IT is the general opinion, that, in the earlieſt times, a people called the Cimbri poſſeſſed, at the extremity of Germania, the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, now known by the name of Holſtein, Sleſwic, and Jutland; and that the Teutones lived in the adjacent iſlands. Whether theſe people had or had not the ſame origin, certain it is, that they came out of their foreſts, or out of their marſhes, together in a body, and as one nation, and penetrated among the Gauls, in queſt of booty, glory, and a milder climate. They were even preparing to croſs the Alps, when Rome thought it was proper to ſtem a torrent which carried all before it. Thoſe barbarians triumphed over all the generals that proud republic ſent to oppoſe them, till the memorable æra when they were totally defeated by Marius.

THEIR country, which became almoſt a deſert after that terrible cataſtrophe, was peopled again by the Scythians, who, being driven by Pompey out of that vaſt ſpace between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſea, marched towards the north and weſt of Europe, ſubduing all the nations they found in their way. They conquered Ruſſia, Saxony,

Weſtphalia, the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, and the countries as far as Finland, Norway, and Sweden. It is pretended that Wodin their leader traverſed ſo many countries, and endeavoured to ſubdue them, only with a view to excite the people againſt the formidable, odious, and tyrannical power of the Romans. That ſpirit of animoſity, which he had excited in the north, operated ſecretly with ſo much force after his death, that in a few centuries all nations agreed to turn their arms againſt that empire, the declared enemy of all liberty; and, after having ſhaken it by repeated attacks, were at length ſucceſsful enough totally to ſubvert it.

Denmark and Norway remained without inhabitants after theſe glorious expeditions. By inſenſible degrees they recovered their former ſtate, and began to be of ſome conſequence again towards the beginning of the eighth century. Their valour now exerted itſelf, not on land, but on the ocean. Surrounded as they were by two ſeas, they commenced pirates, which is always the firſt ſtep towards navigation in uncivilized nations.

They firſt made trial of their ſtrength againſt the neighbouring ſtates, and ſeized the few merchant ſhips they found ſailing up and down the Baltic. Emboldened by theſe ſucceſſes, they were enabled to plan more conſiderable undertakings. They infeſted the ſeas and coaſts of Scotland, Ireland, England, Flanders, France, and even of Spain, Italy, and Greece. They frequently penetrated into the inland parts of thoſe extenſive countries, and even ventured upon the conqueſt of Normandy

Normandy and England. Notwithſtanding the confuſion that reigns in the annals of thoſe barbarous times, we may ſtill trace ſome of the cauſes of ſo many extraordinary events.

The inhabitants of Denmark and Norway had originally a ſtrong propenſity to piracy, which has always been obſerved in people bordering upon the ſea, when they are not reſtrained by civilization and good laws. Cuſtom muſt neceſſarily have made the ocean familiar to them, and inured them to its ſtorms. Having no agriculture, breeding but few cattle, and finding but a ſcanty reſource from the chace, in a country covered with ice and ſnow, they could have no ſtrong attachment to their native land. The facility with which they built their ſhips, which were nothing more than rafts coarſely put together for the purpoſe of ſailing along the coaſts, enabled them to go to all parts, to land their forces, to plunder, and to reimbark. Piracy was to them what it had been to the firſt heroes of Greece, the road to glory and fortune; an honourable profeſſion, which conſiſted in a contempt of all danger. This idea inſpired them with invincible courage in their expeditions, ſometimes under the joint command of different chiefs, and ſometimes divided into as many armaments as nations. Theſe ſudden attacks, made in a variety of places at the ſame time, left only to the inhabitants of the coaſts, which were but ill defended, in conſequence of their being under a bad government, the dreadful alternative either of

being maſſacred, or giving up all their property to redeem their lives.

This propenſity to plunder was a natural conſequence of the ſavage life of the Danes and Norwegians, and of the rough and military education they received; but it was more particularly the effect of the religion of Wodin. That victorious impoſtor improved, if we may be allowed to ſay ſo, the natural fierceneſs of thoſe nations by his ſanguinary tenets. He ordered that all the implements of war, ſuch as ſwords, axes, and lances, ſhould be deified. The moſt ſacred engagements were confirmed by theſe inſtruments which they ſo highly valued. A lance ſet up in the middle of a plain, was the ſignal for prayer and ſacrifice. Wodin himſelf at his death was ranked among the immortal gods, and was the firſt deity of thoſe horrid regions, where the rocks and woods were ſtained and conſecrated with human blood. His followers thought they honoured him by calling him the god of armies, the father of ſlaughter, the deſtroyer of mankind, the promoter of diſcord. The warriors, when they went to battle, made a vow to ſend him a certain number of ſouls, which they devoted to him. Theſe ſouls were the right of Wodin. It was the general belief, that he appeared in every battle, either to protect thoſe who fought valiantly, or to mark out the happy victims he reſerved for himſelf; that theſe followed him to the regions of bliſs, which were open to none but warriors. The people ran to death, and to martyrdom, to obtain

obtain this reward. This belief increaſed their natural propenſity to war, till it grew to enthuſiaſm, and to a religious thirſt for blood.

CHRISTIANITY overthrew all the ideas reſulting from ſuch a ſyſtem. Its miſſionaries endeavoured to bring their proſelytes to a ſedentary life, that they might be fit to receive their inſtructions. They gave them a diſguſt for their roving life, by ſuggeſting to them other means of ſubſiſtence. They were ſo fortunate as to inſpire them with a love of agriculture, and more eſpecially of fiſhing. The great plenty of herrings, which then came in ſhoals to their coaſts, afforded them an eaſy means of procuring food. When they had ſet apart a ſufficient quantity of theſe fiſh for their own uſe, in order to preſerve it, they bartered the remainder for ſalt. This intercourſe was encouraged at its riſe by one common faith, new proſpects, mutual wants, and great ſafety. Such a total revolution enſued, that, ſince the converſion of the Danes and Norwegians, not a ſingle inſtance is to be found in hiſtory of their expeditions and depredations.

THE new ſpirit, which ſeemed to animate Norway and Denmark, could not fail of extending their communication with the other nations of Europe. Unfortunately it was intercepted by the aſcendant which the Hanſe towns had acquired. Even when that great and ſingular confederacy fell into decay, Hamburgh ſtill maintained the ſuperiority it had obtained over all the ſubjects of the Daniſh dominions. They were beginning to break the bands

that had subjected them to this kind of monopoly, when they were induced to undertake the navigation to the East Indies by an incident that deserves to be noticed.

Denmark begins to carry on a trade with India.

A DUTCH factor, named Boschower, being sent by his nation to conclude a treaty of commerce with the king of Ceylon, so ingratiated himself with that monarch, that he became chief of his council, his admiral, and was created prince of Mingone. Boschower, intoxicated with these honours, hastened to Europe, to make a parade of them before his countrymen. He took great offence at the coldness with which those republicans received the titled slave of an Asiatic court; and was so highly provoked at it, that he went over to Christiern IV. king of Denmark, and offered him his services, and the interest he had at Ceylon. His propofals were accepted. He sailed in 1618, with six ships, three of which belonged to the government, and three to the company that had associated themselves to carry on a trade to India. His death, which happened in their passage, put an end to the hopes they had conceived. The Danes met with a very bad reception at Ceylon; and their chief, Ové Giedde de Tommerup, saw no other resource than to carry them to Tanjour, a part of the continent nearest to that island.

TANJOUR is a small state, which is but a hundred miles in its greatest length, and eighty in its greatest breadth. It is of all that coast the province that bears the greatest quantity of rice.

This natural wealth, added to a variety of useful manufactures, and a great plenty of roots for dying, makes the public revenue amount to near five millions *. Its fertility is owing to its being watered by the Caveri, a river which comes down from the mountains of Gate. At upwards of four hundred miles from the head, it divides into two streams. At the entrance of Tanjour, the eastern branch takes the name of Coleroon. The other retains the name of Caveri, and sub-divides again into four branches, which all flow within the kingdom, and preserve it from that terrible drought which burns up the rest of Coromandel for the greatest part of the year.

This happy situation made the Danes wish to form a settlement in Tanjour. Their propofals met with a favourable reception. They obtained a fruitful and populous territory; on which they built Tranquebar, and afterwards the fortress of Dannebourg, sufficient for the defence both of the road and the town. On their part, they engaged to pay an annual homage of 16,500 livres†, which is continued to this time.

Circumstances were favourable for establishing a large commerce. The Portuguese, who groaned under the oppression of a foreign yoke, made only feeble efforts to preserve their possessions; the Spaniards sent no ships but to the Molucca and Philippine islands; and the Dutch were solely intent upon engrossing the spice trade.

* 218,750l. † About 722l.

The Engliſh felt the effects of the diſturbances their country laboured under, even in India. All theſe powers could not ſee this new rival without regret, but none oppoſed it.

In conſequence of this, the Danes, who ſet out with a capital of no more than 853,263 livres *, carried on a pretty conſiderable trade in all parts of India. Unhappily the Dutch company acquired ſuch a ſuperiority, as to exclude them from the markets where they had traded moſt advantageouſly; and, by a ſtill greater misfortune, the diſſentions, that rent the north of Europe, would not permit the mother-country to attend to ſuch remote concerns as thoſe of this ſettlement. The Danes at Tranquebar inſenſibly fell into contempt, both with the natives, who value men only in proportion to their riches, and with the rival nations, whoſe competition they could not ſuſtain. They were diſcouraged by this inferiority; and the company gave up their charter, and made over their ſettlements to the government, as an indemnification for the ſums it had advanced.

Changes the Daniſh trade has undergone in India.

A new company was formed in 1670 upon the ruins of the old one. Chriſtiern V. gave them, in ſhips and other effects, to the value of 310,828 livres, 10 ſous †; and the adventurers advanced 732,600 livres ‡. This ſecond undertaking, which was entered upon without a ſufficient fund, proved ſtill more unſucceſsful than the firſt. After a few voyages, the factory of

* About 37,330l. † 13,598l. 14s. 11d.$\frac{1}{4}$ ‡ 32,051l. 5s.

Tranquebar

Tranquebar was left to itſelf. Their ſmall territory, and two veſſels that they freighted for the merchants of that country, were the only means they had to ſupply the inhabitants and their garriſon. Theſe reſources ſometimes failed them; and, to ſave themſelves from the effects of famine, they were reduced to mortgage three of the four baſtions that conſtituted their fortreſs. They were ſcarce able to fit out a ſhip for Europe once in three years with a very moderate cargo.

Pity ſeemed to be the only ſentiment that ſo deſperate a ſituation could inſpire. But the ever watchful jealouſy and ſuſpicious avarice of other nations, ſtirred up an odious war againſt the Danes. The Raja of Tanjour, who had frequently intercepted their communication with his territory, attacked them in 1689, in the very town of Tranquebar, at the inſtigation of the Dutch. That prince had nearly taken the place after a ſix months ſiege, when it was ſuccoured and ſaved by the Engliſh. This event neither was, nor could be, attended with any important conſequences. The Daniſh company declined daily, and was at length totally ruined in 1730.

Two years after this, a new company was formed, which ſtill ſubſiſts. The favours that were heaped upon it, to enable it to carry on a free and advantageous trade, plainly ſhew of what importance this commerce appeared to the government. The charter of the company is ſettled for forty years. Whatever belongs to the fitting out of their ſhips is exempted from all duties. The workmen they employ, whether

whether natives or foreigners, are not tied down to the regulations of particular companies, which are a reſtraint upon induſtry in Denmark, as well as in other countries in Europe. They are not obliged to uſe ſtampt paper in their tranſactions. They have an abſolute juriſdiction over the perſons they employ; and the ſentences paſſed by the directors are not liable to be reverſed, unleſs the puniſhment is capital. To remove even the appearance of conſtraint, the ſovereign has renounced the right he has of interfering in the adminiſtration of their affairs, as being chief proprietor. He has no influence in the choice of officers, whether civil or military, and has only reſerved to himſelf a power of confirming the office of governor of Tranquebar. He has even bound himſelf to ratify all political conventions they may think proper to make with the Aſiatic powers.

In return for ſo many indulgences, government has only required one per cent. upon all merchandize of India and China which ſhould be ſent abroad, and two and a half per cent. upon all that ſhould be conſumed at home.

The grant containing the above conditions was no ſooner confirmed, than adventurers were ſought for; and, to engage them the more eaſily, the ſtock was diſtinguiſhed into two different kinds. The firſt, called *fixed*, was that, in which all the effects the old company had in Europe and Aſia were deſtined to be inveſted. The other ſtock was called *variable*, becauſe every year it was regulated by the number, the lading, and the expence

expence of the ſhips the company thought proper to fit out. Every proprietor may chuſe whether he will be concerned in theſe expeditions, the profits of which are ſettled at the cloſe of every voyage. If any one ſhould decline to run the riſque, a circumſtance which has never yet happened, the chance would then be offered to another. By this arrangement, the company became permanent by the *fixed*, and annual by the *variable* ſtock.

It ſeemed a difficult matter to ſtate the ſhare of expence that each of theſe funds was to bear. Every thing was ſettled with more eaſe than was expected. It was agreed that the *variable* ſhould only pay the neceſſary expences for the purchaſe, the fitting out, and the cargoes of the ſhips. All other charges were to be defrayed from the *fixed* ſtock, which, by way of compenſation, was to take up ten per cent. upon all India goods which ſhould be ſold in Europe, and five per cent. upon all that ſhould be ſent out from Tranquebar. This continual addition to the *fixed* ſtock has ſo increaſed the capital, that, inſtead of four hundred ſhares at 1125 livres *, which was the original ſtock of the company, it now conſiſts of ſixteen hundred ſhares at 1687l. 10s. †. It was ſettled at this number in 1755; and the duties, which went to the increaſe of the *fixed* ſtock, have ever ſince been applied to the increaſing of the dividend, which till then had been taken upon the profits of the *variable* ſtock.

* 49l. 4s. 4d. ½. † 73l. 16s. 1d. ½.

EVERY

EVERY proprietor, though but of a ſingle ſhare, has a vote at the general meetings. A proprietor of three ſhares has two votes; a proprietor of five has three votes; and ſo on in the ſame proportion to twenty ſhares, which entitle the proprietor to twelve votes; but no man can have any greater number.

WHEN the charter was renewed for twenty years in 1722, ſome new regulations were made. It has been ſtipulated, that no member of the company ſhould at any time have more than three votes, and that none ſhould be allowed to give his vote in writing or by proxy.

State of the Daniſh trade in India.

DENMARK trades to the ſame parts of Aſia as other European nations. The pepper brought from Malabar does not, upon an average, exceed ſixty thouſand weight a year.

EVERY circumſtance would lead us to imagine that their trade muſt be conſiderable on the coaſt of Coromandel. They are in poſſeſſion of an excellent territory; though it is but two leagues in circumference, the population amounts to thirty thouſand ſouls. There are about ten thouſand inhabitants in the town of Tranquebar; and twelve thouſand more in a large village, where they work at ordinary manufactures. The reſt are uſefully employed in ſome ſmaller villages. Three hundred Danes, fifty of whom compoſe the garriſon, are the only Europeans in the ſettlement. The expence of maintaining them amounts to no more than 96000 livres * a year, which is nearly the income drawn from them.

* 4,200l.

THE

THE factors of the company have but little buſineſs to tranſact. Two ſhips only are diſpatched once in three years; which convey no more than 1800 bales of ordinary cotton, and whoſe freight does not exceed 1,500,000 livres *. The factors themſelves do not know how to improve their leiſure to the advancement of their own private fortune. They have no other expedient than to lend the ſmall capital they have at their diſpoſal to Indian merchants at a high intereſt: and indeed Tranquebar, though an ancient ſettlement, has not that appearance of induſtry and opulence which is obſervable in more modern ſettlements which have been conducted with ſpirit and ſkill. The French, driven out of their own ſettlements, had contributed to give it ſome degree of importance; but, upon their leaving it, the ſettlement fell again into the ſame languid ſtate as before. Yet the ſituation of the Danes in Coromandel is not ſo bad as at Bengal.

SOON after their arrival in Aſia, they diſplayed their flag on the Ganges. Their ill ſucceſs ſoon obliged them to quit it, and they never appeared there again till 1755. Commercial jealouſy, which is become the ruling paſſion of our age, has fruſtrated their views upon Bankibaſar, and they have been reduced to fix in the neighbourhood of that place. The French, who alone had ſupported the new factory, found a refuge there during the calamities of the laſt war, and every aſſiſtance that friendſhip and gratitude could offer. Few ſhips

* 65,625 l.

come

come thither directly from Europe. Since 1757 there have been but two; both their cargoes together had coſt but 2,160,000 livres * at home.

The trade to China being leſs tedious and leſs liable to obſtacles, the Daniſh company has purſued it more warmly than either that to the Ganges or to Coromandel, which require a previous ſtock. They ſend a large ſhip every year, and frequently two. The teas, which were their chief return, were moſtly conſumed in England. The acquiſition that kingdom has made of the Iſle of Man, which was the ſtaple for that contraband trade, by depriving the Danes of that market, muſt neceſſarily leſſen their dealings with China.

The annual ſales of the company now amount to 6,500,000 livres †. It is not probable that they will increaſe much. We know their expeditions are eaſily made, and at a trifling expence. Their ſailors, though not ſo venturous as thoſe of ſome other nations, have prudence and experience. The iron they ſend to India is found in the mines of Norway. The government pays them a very high price for the ſaltpetre it obliges them to bring home. The national manufactures are neither ſo numerous nor ſo much encouraged as to be any hindrance to their ſales. They can eaſily diſpoſe of their goods all over the North, and in ſome part of Germany. They have good laws, and their whole conduct deſerves the higheſt encomiums. Perhaps, there is not any company that can be compared to this in the honeſty and prudence of their tranſactions.

* 94,500l. † 284,375l.

NOTWITH-

NOTWITHSTANDING all these advantages, the Danish company will always be in a declining state. The consumption of their commodities will never be very great, in a region which nature has doomed to poverty, and which industry itself cannot enrich. The mother country is neither populous nor powerful enough to afford them the means of extending their commerce. Their stock is small, and will always continue so. Foreigners will not trust their money in the hands of a body which is under the controul of arbitrary power in an absolute monarchy. With a system of laws that would do honour to the best-constituted republic, they must suffer all the hardships of slavery. A despotic government, with the best intentions, can never have it in its power to do good. The first steps taken by such a government are, to deprive the subjects of that free exercise of their will which is the true source of their activity; and, when this spring of action is once broken, it can never be restored again. It is mutual confidence that connects mankind, unites their interests, and promotes trade. Whereas arbitrary power puts an end to all confidence, because it excludes every idea of security.

THE project formed in 1728, of transferring the company from Copenhagen to Altena, could not have remedied these inconveniences. The ships, indeed, would have been more easily dispatched, and would not have been exposed to the danger of losing their voyage, which sometimes happens from the ice they meet with in the Sound; but

but we cannot agree with the authors of the ſcheme, that the vicinity would have induced the Hamburghers to hazard their capitals upon a trade for which they had always expreſſed an averſion. So that we may venture to affirm, that England and Holland were guilty of a needleſs act of tyranny, when they oppoſed this domeſtic plan of a free and independent power. Their anxiety with regard to Oſtend was better grounded.

Eſtabliſhment of an India company at Oſtend.

THAT knowledge of trade and government, and that ſound philoſophy, which inſenſibly ſpread over all Europe, met with invincible obſtacles in ſome monarchies. Theſe improvements could not reach the court of Vienna, which was wholly intent upon projects of war, and aggrandizement by conqueſts. The Engliſh and Dutch, whoſe attention was engaged in preventing France from increaſing her commerce, her ſettlements, and her navy, excited enemies againſt her on the continent, and laviſhed immenſe ſums upon the houſe of Auſtria, which were employed againſt France: but, at the peace, the luxury of one crown reſtored more riches to the other than it had taken from it by the war.

THE power of the houſe of Auſtria, which ought to be formidable from the extent of its dominions, is confined by reaſon of their ſituation; for moſt of its provinces are diſtant from the ſea. The ſoil of the country yields but a ſmall quantity of wine, and few of the productions that are ſo much valued by other nations. It affords neither oil, ſilk, nor

fine wool, which are in so much repute. This state had no pretensions to opulence, and knew not how to be frugal. With the usual luxury and pomp of great courts, it gave no encouragement to industry and manufactures, which might have supplied the means of indulging that expensive taste. The contempt in which it has always held the sciences, prevented its progress in every thing. Artists will never be eminent in any country where they are not assisted by men of learning. Sciences and arts must both languish, wherever a freedom of thinking is not allowed. The pride and intolerant spirit of the House of Austria kept her vast domains in a state of poverty, superstition, and a rude kind of luxury.

Even the Low Countries, formerly so celebrated for their activity and industry, retained nothing of their ancient splendour. Not a single ship was to be seen in the harbour of Antwerp; it was no longer the store-house of the North, as it had been for two centuries past. Brussels and Louvain, far from supplying other nations with their cloathing, bought their own of the English. That valuable article, the herring-fishery, had passed from Bruges to Holland. Ghent, Courtray, and some other towns, found their linen and lace manufactures decrease daily. Those provinces, placed between the three most enlightened and most trading nations in Europe, had not been able, with all their natural advantages, to support so powerful a competition. After striving some time against oppression, against impediments multiplied by ignorance, and against

the privilege which a rapacious neighbour extorted from the continual wants of government, they were totally fallen to decay.

PRINCE Eugene, as great in a political as he was in a military capacity, with a mind ſuperior to every prejudice, had been long in ſearch of the means of enriching a power, whoſe boundaries he had ſo greatly enlarged; when a propoſal was made to him of eſtabliſhing an India company at Oſtend. The firſt contrivers of this ſcheme had very extenſive views. They pretended that, if this undertaking could be accompliſhed, it would excite a ſpirit of induſtry in all the ſtates under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria; would ſupply that power with a navy, one part of which would be in the Netherlands, and the other at Fiume and Trieſt; would reſcue it from the kind of dependence it was ſtill under for the ſubſidies from England and Holland; and render it formidable to the coaſts of Turkey, and even to the city of Conſtantinople.

THE able miniſter, to whom this was addreſſed, was very ſenſible of the value of ſuch overtures; he would not, however, be too precipitate. To accuſtom his own court and all Europe to this new eſtabliſhment, he ordered that two ſhips ſhould be ſent out to India in 1717, with only his own paſſports. Their voyage was ſo ſucceſsful, that more were ſent out the following years. Every expedition proved fortunate; and in 1722 the court of Vienna thought it was neceſſary to ſecure the property of the adventurers, who were for the moſt part Engliſh and Dutch, by the moſt advantageous charter that ever had been granted.

THE

THE new company, which had a capital of twenty millions divided into ten thouſand ſhares, appeared with advantage in all the markets of India. They made two ſettlements, that of Coblom between Madraſs and Sadraſpatnam, on the coaſt of Coromandel; and that of Bankibaſar, on the Ganges. They were even in ſearch of a place where their ſhips might touch for refreſhments, and had turned their views upon Madagaſcar for that purpoſe. The company were ſo fortunate as to be able to repoſe an entire confidence in their agents, who had ſhewn a degree of reſolution ſufficient to ſurmount every obſtacle that jealouſy had thrown in their way; and a ſhare of underſtanding which had extricated them from all the ſnares that had been laid for them. This confidence was ſtill increaſed by the richneſs of their returns, and the value of their ſhares, which brought in fifteen per cent. It is not to be ſuppoſed they would have been diſappointed, had not their projects been oppoſed by political intereſts. To give a clear idea of the reaſons of this policy, we muſt trace the ſubject from the beginning.

Cauſes of the deſtruction of the company at Oſtend.

WHEN Iſabella had ſent out ſhips to facilitate the diſcovery of America, and which proceeded as far as the Philippine iſlands, Europe was ſunk in ſuch a ſtate of ignorance, that it was thought proper to prohibit all ſubjects of Spain, who were not natives of Caſtile, from navigating to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. That part of the Low Countries which had not recovered its liberty, having been ceded in 1598 to the infanta Iſabella, on her marriage with the archduke Albert, the new ſove-

reigns were required to enter into a ſolemn engagement, not to have any concern in this trade. When theſe provinces were again united to the monarchy in 1638, no alteration was made in this odious ſtipulation. The Flemings, juſtly offended at being abridged of the right, which all people are by nature entitled to, of trading wherever other nations are not legally poſſeſſed of an excluſive privilege, complained loudly of this impoſition. They were ſeconded by their governor the cardinal Infant, who procured the permiſſion to trade to the Eaſt Indies. The act to ratify this grant was not yet iſſued, when Portugal ſhook off the yoke under which it had ſo long been oppreſſed. The fear of increaſing the diſcontent of the Portugueſe, whom the Spaniards wiſhed rather to ſooth, prevented the introduction of a new rival to the Portuguſe in Aſia, and protracted the concluſion of this important affair. It was not yet ſettled, when it was reſolved at Munſter, in 1648, that the ſubjects of the king of Spain ſhould never extend their trade in India beyond what it was at that period. This act ought not to have been leſs binding to the emperor than it was to the court of Madrid; ſince he poſſeſſes the Low Countries on the ſame terms, and with the ſame reſtrictions, they were ſubject to when under the dominion of Spain.

Such were the arguments made uſe of by the Engliſh and the Dutch, in order to effect the ſuppreſſion of the new company, whoſe ſucceſs gave them great umbrage. Thoſe two allies, who by their maritime forces could have entirely deſtroyed

Oſtend and its trade, were deſirous of avoiding a diſpute with a power which they themſelves had raiſed, and which they thought they ſtood in need of againſt the houſe of Bourbon. So that, though they were determined not to ſuffer the houſe of Auſtria to go to the ſource of their riches, they contented themſelves with making remonſtrances on the violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements. They were ſeconded by France, which was equally intereſted in this matter, and was alſo guarantee of the violated treaty.

The emperor paid no regard to theſe repreſentations. He was induced to perſiſt in his undertaking by the obſtinacy of his own diſpoſition, by the ambitious proſpects that had been ſuggeſted to him, and by the great privileges and indulgences granted by Spain to the merchants reſiding in his dominions. That crown then entertained the hopes of obtaining the heireſs of the houſe of Auſtria for Don Carlos, and thought no conceſſions too great for ſuch an alliance. The union of thoſe two courts, which had always been conſidered as irreconcileable, alarmed all Europe. Every nation thought itſelf in danger. Numberleſs leagues were formed, and many treaties concluded, to endeavour to diſſolve that connection, which was thought to be more dangerous than it really was. All theſe attempts were ineffectual, till the council of Madrid, having no more treaſures to laviſh upon Germany, were convinced that they were purſuing a viſionary intereſt. Auſtria was not alarmed at the defection of her ally, and ſeemed determined to aſſert her claims, and eſpecially her commercial intereſts. Whether the

maritime powers were intimidated by this ſteadineſs, or whether, as was more probably the caſe, they only conſulted the dictates of ſound policy, they determined to guarantee the pragmatic ſanction in 1727. The court of Vienna acknowledged this important ſervice, by ſacrificing the Oſtend company.

THOUGH the public acts take notice only of a ſuſpenſion for ſeven years, the proprietors plainly ſaw that their ruin was determined, and that this ſtipulation was only inſerted from reſpect to the imperial dignity. They had too high an opinion of the court of London and the ſtates general, to ſuppoſe they would have ſecured the indiviſibility of the Auſtrian dominions for a mere momentary advantage. This perſuaſion determined them to think no more of Oſtend, and to diſpoſe of their ſtock ſome other way. They made ſeveral ſucceſſive attempts to form an eſtabliſhment at Hamburgh, at Trieſt, and in Tuſcany; but all their endeavours proved abortive, either from the badneſs of the ſituation, the efforts of powerful nations, or the intrigues of politics. Thoſe were the moſt ſucceſsful who turned their views towards Sweden.

General ſketch of the ancient government of Sweden.

SWEDEN, whoſe inhabitants, known by the name of Goths, had contributed to the ſubverſion of the Roman empire, when they had ſpread deſtruction with the violence and rapidity of a torrent, retreated into their deſerts, and were loſt in their former obſcurity. Their domeſtic conteſts, which were always violent, though continual, prevented them from thinking of foreign wars, or from uniting their intereſts with thoſe of other nations. They had

had unfortunately the worſt of all conſtitutions, in which authority is ſo divided, that neither of the ſeveral powers knows exactly what ſhare it is poſſeſſed of. The ſeveral diſtinct claims of the king, of the clergy, of the nobility, of the cities, and of the peaſants, occaſioned ſuch a ſcene of confuſion, that it muſt oftentimes neceſſarily have proved the ruin of the kingdom, if their neighbours had not laboured under the ſame ſtate of barbariſm. Guſtavus Vaſa put an end to that anarchy, by uniting the greater part of thoſe powers in his own perſon; but he plunged the ſtate into another calamity, as fatal as the former.

This country, from the great extent of its coaſt, its excellent harbours, its plenty of timber, its iron and copper mines, and from its abounding with every material requiſite to form a navy, ſeemed as it were deſigned for navigation, which, however, it neglected when it grew weary of piracy. The people of Lubeck traded with the Swedes for the productions of their country; and brought them ſalt, ſtuffs, and all the foreign merchandize they wanted. No ſhips were ſeen in their roads; nor were there any magazines in their towns, which did not belong to that republic.

The haughty ſoul of Guſtavus could not brook this dependence. He was determined to break the bands that cramped the induſtry of his ſubjects; but he was too precipitate in his meaſures. He ſhut his harbours againſt the people of Lubeck, before he had built any ſhips, or had got any merchants. From this period there was no further intercourſe between his ſubjects and other nations; and this

ſudden and total interruption of trade proved fatal to agriculture, that firſt of arts in all countries, and the only one then known in Sweden. The fields lay fallow, when the huſbandman no longer found for the produce of his land that uſual and conſtant demand, which till then had been a ſpur to his induſtry. Some Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which appeared there at diſtant intervals, had not yet revived the former ſpirit of commerce, when Guſtavus Adolphus aſcended the throne.

He ſignalized the firſt years of his reign by ſeveral uſeful alterations. Agriculture was encouraged; the mines were worked with greater ſkill; the companies were formed to trade to Perſia and the Weſt Indies; the foundations of a new colony were laid on the coaſt of North America: the Swediſh veſſels were ſeen in all the ſeas of Europe, carrying copper, iron, wood, tallow, tar, hides, butter, corn, fiſh, and furs; returning with wine, brandy, ſalt, ſpice, and all ſorts of ſtuffs.

This proſperity was of ſhort duration. The wars of the great Guſtavus in Germany ſoon checked the riſing induſtry of the Swedes. His ſucceſſors endeavoured to revive it; but it was again deſtroyed by freſh wars, which laſted till the death of Charles XII. During that long period, the kings aimed only to acquire arbitrary power; and the genius of the nation was wholly turned to arms.

The Swedes did not apply themſelves to uſeful purſuits, till they had loſt all their conqueſts, and till the elevation of Ruſſia left them no hopes of new ones. The ſtates of the kingdom, having aboliſhed

abolished despotism, corrected the abuses of so faulty an administration. The rapid transition from a state of slavery to that of liberty, did not however occasion those violent disturbances which commonly attend such revolutions. All the changes were made upon mature deliberation. The first attention was paid to the most necessary professions, which till then had been unnoticed, or despised. The arts of convenience, or elegance, were soon introduced. Several useful treatises, not unworthy of the most enlightened nations, were published on the most abstruse sciences. The young nobility travelled into every part of Europe where they might gain any kind of knowledge. Those citizens, who had been for a long time absent from their country while it remained in a state of ruin and devastation, returned and brought back with them the various talents they had acquired. Order, political œconomy, and the several branches of government, became subjects of inquiry. Whatever concerned the republic was maturely discussed in the general assemblies, and freely approved or censured in the public writings. Improvements of every kind were adopted, from whatever part of the globe they came. Foreigners, who introduced any new discoveries, or any branch of useful knowledge, met with encouragement; and it was at this favourable juncture that the agents of the Ostend company made their appearance.

A RICH merchant of Stockholm, named Henry Koning, approved of their schemes, and procured the approbation of the diet in 1731. An India company

BOOK V.

The Swedes cultivate the India trade. Basis on which it is founded.

company was eſtabliſhed, with an excluſive privilege of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The charter was only for fifteen years. It was thought that this would be the beſt expedient, either to afford an early opportunity of rectifying any imperfections incident to new undertakings, or to relieve the anxiety of many citizens who were diſſatisfied with an undertaking which they thought repugnant to the nature of the climate and the conſtitution. In order, as much as poſſible, to unite the advantages of a free trade with thoſe of a privileged aſſociation, it was agreed that the ſtock ſhould not be fixed, and that each proprietor ſhould be at liberty to withdraw his own at the end of every voyage. As moſt of the adventurers were foreigners, it was thought equitable to ſecure a profit to the nation, by obliging them to pay the government 2250 livres * upon the cargo of every ſhip.

NOTWITHSTANDING this duty, which almoſt confined their trade to China, the proprietors divided much greater profits than any other company ever did. This ſucceſs determined the ſtates, when they renewed the charter in 1746, to demand 75000 livres † per ſhip, in lieu of the old duty. Theſe terms were punctually complied with till 1755: then the directors, who were ſenſible of the advantages of their ſituation, endeavoured to render it permanent, by fixing on a firmer footing the tranſient aſſociation that had intruſted them with the management of their

* 98l. 8s. 9d. † 3,281l. 5s.

affairs;

affairs; and their ſcheme was approved in a general aſſembly of the nation. It was not to be expected that the proprietors would ſo readily aſſent to a ſyſtem that abridged them of their liberty, and was the more to be dreaded, as it had proved fatal to other companies. They were, however, allured by the proſpect of a more fixt dividend, inſtead of one which had for ſome years varied to an incredible degree; a circumſtance which was either contrived to make the project ſucceed, or was a natural conſequence of the fluctuation of trade. They were finally determined by the indulgence the government ſhewed them, in taking no more than a duty of twenty per cent. upon tea and all other India goods which ſhould be conſumed within the kingdom, inſtead of 75,000 * livres which had been paid for ſix years upon every ſhip. This new regulation laſted till 1766, which was the time of the expiration of the charter granted twenty years before.

They had not deferred to that time the taking of proper meaſures for the renewal of the company. As early as the 7th of July 1762, a new charter was granted for twenty years longer. The conditions were more advantageous to the ſtate, than were expected by thoſe who had not attended to the profits of that trade. The company lent the government 1,500,000 livres † without intereſt, and 3,000,000 ‡ at ſix per cent. The proprietors, who advanced this money, were to be repaid gra-

* 3,281l. 5s. † 65,625l. ‡ 131,250l.

dually

dually out of the drawback of 112,500 livres *, which they engaged to pay for every ſhip they ſhould ſend out. A duty of one fourth of the produce was laid on all ſuch of their commodities as ſhould be exported out of the kingdom; and ſuch as were conſumed at home were to pay the old duties, or ſuch new ones as government ſhould think proper to lay on them. This is the regulation that ſubſiſts ever ſince 1766.

The company have fixed the center of their buſineſs at Gottenburgh, which is by far the moſt convenient port for that purpoſe. At firſt their ſtock varied from one voyage to another. It is generally believed, that in 1753 it was fixed at nine millions †, though but ſix ‡ were laid down. Thoſe, who are beſt informed, are of opinion that the laſt regulation has really brought in ten millions ‖; but we know nothing on this important point, except from conjecture, for it never was laid before the public. As the Swedes had but little ſhare in this ſtock, it was judged neceſſary to conceal this circumſtance; and it was therefore enacted, that any director, who ſhould divulge the names of the proprietors, or the ſums they had ſubſcribed, ſhould be ſuſpended, or even depoſed, and ſhould forfeit for ever all the ſtock of which he was poſſeſſed. This myſterious conduct is ſtill obſerved. Indeed the accounts of the company are regularly laid before twelve of the chief proprietors, who are choſen once in four years at a

* 4,921l. 17s. 6d. † 393,750l. ‡ 262,500l. ‖ 437,500l.

general

general meeting; but mercantile people will never conſider this as a ſufficient ſecurity; and will always think it ſtrange, that a free ſtate ſhould have opened ſuch a door for corruption. Secrecy, in politics, is like lying; it may preſerve a ſtate for a while, but finally ruins it. Both are only ſerviceable to bad men.

THOUGH the company met with ſome misfortunes, the dividend kept up to thirty-two per cent. upon an average. This whole profit was made upon ſales that did not exceed ſix millions of livres * yearly. Eleven-twelfths of thoſe goods have been exported; and what little the Swedes have conſumed, they have paid for with their own commodities. The ſmall value of the ſtock, and the few reſources they had, would not admit of greater conſumption, as will appear if we conſider the following particulars.

Preſent ſtate of Sweden.

THE extent of Sweden is 6900 leagues ſquare, allowing, as is uſual in that country, but ten and a half to a degree. A great part of it is covered with immenſe lakes. The ſoil, which is moſt commonly greaſy clay, is harder to till than ſandy ground, but it bears more. The prodigious ſnows that cover it, preſerve and cheriſh the plants. Unfortunately the winters are ſo long, and the days ſo ſhort, that there is but little time for the labours of the field. Beſides, as the men are taller and ſtouter than in other countries, they require more ſubſtantial food, and in larger quantities.

FROM theſe reaſons we ſhould be apt to ſuſpect, that the population never was very great in Sweden,

* 262,500l.

though

though it has been called the *manufactory of human kind*. Probably the numerous bands that came from thence, and which, under the ſo-much-dreaded name of Goths and Vandals, ravaged and ſubdued ſo many regions of Europe, were only ſwarms of Scythians and Sarmatians, who came thither in a conſtant ſucceſſion by the north of Aſia. Yet it would be a miſtake to ſuppoſe that this vaſt country was always as thinly peopled as it is now. Some hiſtorical proofs, which were laid before the ſtates at their laſt meeting, convinced them that, three hundred years ago, their country had more inhabitants than it has at preſent, though at that time they profeſſed the catholic religion, which enjoins the monaſtic life and the celibacy of the clergy. It appears, from a very accurate account taken in 1760, by order of the government, that Sweden, excluſive of her German dominions which are inconſiderable, has actually but 2,383,113 ſubjects; and that, in this population, there are 1,127,938 men, and 1,256,175 women. By taking the mean term, this makes 345 inhabitants to a league ſquare. The two extremes are Gothia which has 1248, and Lapland which has but two inhabitants to a league.

The numbers would be greater in all the provinces, if they were not continually deſerted by the natives, who frequently never return. There are men in all nations, who, either out of curioſity, or from a natural reſtleſsneſs, and without any determinate object, are fond of going from one country to another; but this is only the

malady

malady of a few individuals, and cannot be conſidered as the general cauſe of a conſtant emigration. There is a natural propenſity in all men to love their own country, which is rather to be accounted for from moral, than from natural principles. An inherent fondneſs for ſociety, the ties of blood and of friendſhip, an acquaintance with the climate and language, that partiality we are ſo apt to contract for the place, the manners, and the way of life we are accuſtomed to; all theſe are, to a rational being, ſo many attachments to the land in which he was born and educated. They muſt be powerful motives that can determine him to break all theſe ties at once, and to prefer another country, where all will appear extraordinary and new to him. In Sweden, where the whole power reſides in the ſtates compoſed of the ſeveral orders of the kingdom, even that of peaſants, every one ſhould be more attached to his country; yet emigrations are very frequent, and there muſt be ſome cauſe for them.

The claſs of citizens moſt attached to the country, is that of the huſbandmen. Agriculture was tolerably flouriſhing, till Guſtavus Vaſa prohibited the exportation of corn. Ever ſince that fatal edict, it has always degenerated; and the endeavours, uſed of late years to reſtore it, have not altogether had the deſired effect. Government buys every year part of the corn that is wanted for home conſumption; and this ſcarcity may laſt long, as it is very difficult to breed large quantities

quantities of cattle. They muſt be foddered for nine months in the year; and men are wanting, to cut up and to houſe that quantity of fodder which the long winters require.

The mines are not liable to the like inconveniences. They were long the chief ſupport of the kingdom; but are ſince grown dependent on the Engliſh and Dutch, who have lent large ſums to carry on the works. A better management has gradually freed them from this bondage. The ſilver mines annually bring in 4500 marks to the ſtate; the copper-mines yield 8000 ingots, of which 5500 are exported; the iron mines yield 400,000 ingots, of which they export about 300,000. Theſe laſt were eaſily increaſed, eſpecially in the northern provinces, which abound with wood and water for the works, and where the long and ſevere winters are favourable to the tranſport. The ſtates, held in 1765, forbad the opening of any more, though no reaſon of political œconomy can be aſſigned for ſuch a prohibition. It is probable, that it took its riſe from the private and perſonal intereſt of ſome leading men in the diet. The manufactures have not been more encouraged than the mines.

Till the happy revolution which reſtored the liberty of Sweden, the nation in general were cloathed in foreign ſtuffs. At that memorable period, they were ſenſible how impoſſible it was to prevent this evil with their own wool, which was extremely coarſe; ewes and rams were therefore ſent from Spain and England, and by the precautions

precautions that have been taken, they have not much degenerated. As the flocks multiplied, the manufactures increased to that degree, that in 1763 they employed 45,000 hands. This progress has displeased some patriots, who thought it prejudicial to agriculture. In vain were they told, that the manufactures promoted the consumption of the productions of the land; that they multiplied cattle, and that the cattle fertilized the ground; that there were in the kingdom but eight or ten towns, at most, that deserved to be called so, and that their population, relative to that of the country, was but as one to twelve, which was not the case in any other country. These representations had no effect. The diet of 1765, from party spirit or ignorance, adopted the views of those who were inclined to encourage only the works of husbandry. To accomplish this, they have shackled industry with all the fetters they could devise. The consequence has been, that the artificers sought for employment in other places, especially in Russia, and that Sweden has at present no manufactures.

Their fisheries have not met with the same fate. The only one that deserves to be considered in a political view is the herring-fishery. It only began in 1740. Before that time, the herrings did not frequent the coasts of Sweden. They then came in shoals to the coast of Gottenburgh, and have never forsaken it since. Two hundred thousand barrels are annually exported,

which, at the rate of 20 livres * per barrel, amount to 4,000,000 of livres †. About 8000 barrels are ſent over to the Engliſh iſlands in America. It is very ſurpriſing that the French, who have more ſlaves, and fewer means of providing for them, ſhould never have encouraged the importation of ſo deſirable an article.

The Swediſh nation was not yet poſſeſſed of the herring-fiſhery, when they prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, and the conveying their own from one harbour of the kingdom to another in foreign bottoms. That famous edict reſtored navigation, which had long ſince been deſtroyed by the calamities of war. Their flag, which was unknown every where, was now to be ſeen on all ſeas. Their ſeamen ſoon acquired ſkill and experience. Some able politicians were even of opinion that their progreſs was growing too conſiderable for a depopulated country. They thought it would be more adviſeable to keep to the exportation of their own produce, and the importation of ſuch foreign commodities as they wanted, and have nothing to do with mere freight. This ſyſtem was warmly oppoſed. Some eminent ſtateſmen were of opinion that, far from cramping this branch of induſtry, it ought to be encouraged, by aboliſhing every regulation that might tend to obſtruct it. The excluſive right of paſſing the Sound was formerly appropriated to a few towns, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Staple*. All

* 17s. 6d. † 175,000l.

the

the parts ſituated to the north of Stockholm or Abo, were obliged to ſend their commodities to one of theſe ſtaples, and there to take in thoſe of the Baltic, which they could have procured cheaper at firſt hand. Thoſe odious diſtinctions, contrived in barbarous times, and tending to favour the monopoly of merchants, ſtill ſubſiſt to this day. The wiſeſt ſpeculators in political matters wiſhed to ſee them aboliſhed; that a more general competition might produce greater induſtry. But, whatever may be the wiſhes of the nation with regard to trade, no perſon is deſirous of having the army augmented.

Before the reign of Guſtavus Vaſa, every Swede was a ſoldier. Upon an emergency of the ſtate, the huſbandman left his plough, and took up his bow. The whole nation was inured to war by their inceſſant civil commotions. Government had but five hundred men in pay, who were always to hold themſelves in readineſs to march. In 1542, this ſmall corps was increaſed to ſix thouſand. The peaſants, upon whom theſe troops were quartered, found the burden intolerable, and it was neceſſary to free them of it. For this purpoſe, the uncultivated lands were incorporated with thoſe of the crown; and, when they were cleared, they were allotted to the defenders of their country. This excellent inſtitution has been continued ever ſince. Military men are not ſhut up in garriſons, to lead a life of idleneſs, as they are in other countries. From the general to the common ſoldier, every one has a houſe which he lives in, and a ſpot of ground of his

own which he improves. The extent and value of the land is proportionable to his rank in the army. This poſſeſſion, which they hold from the crown, is called *Boſtell*, and is never granted but in the domains belonging to government. The army now conſiſts of eight regiments of horſe, three regiments of dragoons, two regiments of huſſars, and twenty-one regiments of national infantry, that are paid in the above manner; and ten regiments of foreign troops, who are paid in money, and diſpoſed of in the provinces, and in the fortreſſes beyond the ſeas: all theſe forces together amount to 50,000 men. This army is increaſed to 84,000 men, by the addition of 34,000 ſoldiers, who are kept in reſerve, and have likewiſe their *Boſtells*, and by their inſtitution are deſtined to ſupply the place of thoſe who die among the national infantry, are loſt, or taken priſoners. Twenty ſhips of the line, with a proportionable number of frigates, and a few galleys, complete the forces of the republic.

To ſupport theſe forces, the ſtate has only a revenue of eighteen millions of livres *, which ariſes from a land-tax, the returns of the cuſtoms, duties upon copper, iron, and ſtamped paper, a poll-tax, and a free gift. This is a very ſmall ſum for the expences of war, and the neceſſities of government; and yet it muſt alſo anſwer for the payment of debts.

THESE debts amounted to 7,500,000 livres †, when Charles XI. came to the crown. That

* 787,500l. † 328,125l.

prince,

prince, who was an œconomiſt in a manner becoming a ſovereign, paid them off. He did more than this, for he redeemed ſeveral of the domains conquered in Germany, which had been alienated to powerful neighbours. He likewiſe redeemed the crown jewels, upon which conſiderable ſums had been borrowed in Holland. He fortified the frontier towns, ſuccoured his allies, and often fitted out ſquadrons to maintain his ſuperiority on the Baltic. The events ſubſequent to his death once more plunged the nation into its former confuſion, which has continued increaſing ever ſince, ſo that the government was in debt 82,500,000 livres *, for which they paid four and a half per cent. intereſt. Of this capital, eight millions † are the property of foreigners, five millions ‡ belong to a ſinking fund, eſtabliſhed to pay off the debts contracted by Charles XII. a million and a half § to ſome communities, twelve millions and a half ‖ to private perſons in Sweden, and fifty-five millions ** to the bank. The beſt calculators pretend that this bank, which belongs ſolely to the ſtate, and is only to be at their diſpoſal by the nation in a general aſſembly, has got as much by lending its paper currency to private perſons, upon moveable and immoveable effects, as the government owes it. In that caſe, the republic in fact owes but one-third of the debt, for which it pays intereſt, for the ſake of ſupporting public credit.

This credit is the more neceſſary, as there does not, ſince the laſt German war, remain two mil-

* 3,609,375 l. † 350,000 l. ‡ 218,750 l.
§ 65,625 l. ‖ 546,875 l. ** 2,406,250 l.

lions * of ſpecie in circulation all over the kingdom. Paper currency is employed on all occaſions. As thoſe who are entruſted with the management of the paper credit are ſworn to keep every thing relative to it a profound ſecret, the quantity cannot be exactly aſcertained; but, from the informations of the moſt accurate obſervers, we may venture to affirm, that the ſum total of bank notes amounts to no leſs than ſeventy-ſeven millions †.

Poverty was not, however, the greateſt evil under which Sweden laboured; ſhe was threatened with calamities of a more dangerous nature. Private intereſt, which had taken place of public ſpirit, filled the court, the ſenate, and all orders of the republic, with diſtruſt. All bodies of men were bent upon each other's deſtruction with unparalleled inveteracy. When the means were wanting at home, they were ſought for from abroad; and a man was not aſhamed to conſpire in ſome meaſure with foreigners againſt his own country.

The unhappy ſituation of a ſtate, apparently free, kept up that ſlaviſh diſpoſition, which degrades moſt of the European nations; they gloried in their chains, when they beheld the ſufferings of a people who had ſhaken off their's. No one would be convinced that the Swedes had gone from one extreme to another; that, to avoid the miſchief of arbitrary power, they had fallen into the confuſions of anarchy. The

* 87,500l. † 3,368,750l.

laws

laws had not provided means to reconcile the private rights of individuals with thoſe of ſociety, and the prerogatives it ought to enjoy for the common ſafety of its members.

In that fatal criſis, it was expedient for the Swedes to entruſt the phantom of a king, of their own creation, with a power ſufficient to inquire into the abuſes of the ſtate, and find out proper remedies for it. This is the greateſt act of ſovereignty a people can exerciſe; and it is not loſing their liberty, to commit it to the cuſtody of a guardian in whom they can confide, while they watch over the uſe he makes of the power delegated to him.

Such a reſolution would have raiſed the Swedes to the greateſt glory and happineſs, and have excited a general opinion of their underſtanding and wiſdom; whereas, by declining ſo neceſſary a meaſure, they have compelled the ſovereign to ſeize upon the ſupreme authority. He now reigns upon his own terms; and his ſubjects have no other right left, but ſuch as his moderation would not ſuffer him to deprive them of.

This event is too recent to allow us to entertain our readers with an account of it; poſterity muſt be left to judge of it. Let us now inquire into the connections, formed in India by the King of Pruſſia.

The king of Pruſſia forms an East India company at Embden.

This prince, in his younger years, wiſely preferred the advantage of treaſuring up knowledge, to the uſual pleaſures of his age, and the luxurious idleneſs of courts. An intercourſe with

BOOK V.

Character of that Prince. Fate of his eſtabliſhment.

the greateſt men of his time, joined to the ſpirit of obſervation, inſenſibly ripened his genius, which was naturally active and eager for improvement. Neither flattery nor oppoſition could ever divert him from the deep reflections he was engaged in. He formed the plan of his future conduct and reign in the early part of his life. It was foretold, on his acceſſion to the crown, that his miniſters would be no more than his ſecretaries; the managers of his finances no more than his clerks; and his generals no more than his aids de camp. Some fortunate circumſtances afforded him an opportunity of diſplaying to the whole world the talents he had acquired in retirement. With a quickneſs peculiar to himſelf, Frederic, inſtantly diſcovering the plan it was his intereſt to purſue, attacked a power by which his anceſtors had been held in ſlavery. He obtained the victory in five engagements againſt that power, deprived it of its beſt provinces, and concluded a peace with the ſame wiſdom that he had begun the war.

THOUGH his wars were at an end, yet he did not remain inactive. He aſpired to gain the admiration of thoſe very people whom he had ſtruck with terror. He collected all the arts about him, to give an additional luſtre to his name. He reformed the abuſes in the courts of judicature, and dictated himſelf the wiſeſt laws. A plain and invariable order was eſtabliſhed in every part of government. As he was convinced that the authority of a ſovereign is a common

benefit

benefit to all his ſubjects, a protection which all ſhould equally partake of, he gave to every man the liberty of approaching his perſon, and of writing to him. Every inſtant of his life was devoted to the welfare of his people; his very amuſements were made uſeful to them. His writings on hiſtory, morality, and politics, abounded with practical truths. Even his poetry was full of profound and inſtructive ideas. He was conſidering of the means of enriching his dominions, when ſome fortunate event put him in poſſeſſion of Eaſt Frieſland in the year 1744.

EMBDEN, the capital of this little province, was reckoned, two centuries ago, one of the beſt ports in Europe. The Engliſh, compelled to abandon Antwerp, had made it the center of their connections with the continent. The Dutch had long attempted, though in vain, to appropriate it to themſelves, till it ſo ſtrongly excited their jealouſy, that they even endeavoured to fill up the port. It was in every reſpect fit to become the ſtaple of a great trade. The diſtance of this little country from the bulk of the Pruſſian forces might be attended with ſome inconveniences; but Frederic expected that the terror of his name would keep the maritime powers in awe. In this perſuaſion, he eſtabliſhed an Eaſt India company at Embden in 1750.

THE capital of this new ſociety was 3,900,000 livres *, chiefly ſubſcribed by the Engliſh and Dutch, notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibitions

* 170,625l.

of their governments. They were allured by the unlimited freedom they were to enjoy, on paying three per cent. to the ſovereign, upon every ſale they ſhould make. The event did not anſwer their expectation; ſix ſhips, ſent ſucceſſively to China, brought to the owners no more than their bare capital, and a profit of ten per cent. in ſeven years. Another company, formed ſoon after in the ſame place for Bengal, was ſtill more unſucceſsful. They never attempted more than two expeditions; and the only return they had was a law-ſuit, which probably will never be determined. At the breaking-out of the laſt war, both theſe companies were aboliſhed.

This has been the only check the king of Pruſſia's greatneſs has ever received. We know how difficult it is to judge of the merit of cotemporaries; becauſe they are not at a ſufficient diſtance. Princes are of all men thoſe we can leaſt hope to be acquainted with. Fame ſeldom ſpeaks of them without prejudice. We commonly judge of them upon the reports of ſervile flattery, or unjuſt envy. The clamours of the various intereſts and opinions, that are in perpetual agitation around them, confound or ſuſpend the judgement of the wiſeſt men.

Yet, if we might be allowed to pronounce from a multitude of facts connected together, we ſhould ſay of Frederic, that he was able to extricate himſelf from the ſchemes of all Europe combined againſt him; that to the greatneſs and boldneſs of his enterprizes, he joined the moſt

impenetrable ſecrecy in the execution of them; that he introduced a total change in the art of war, which before his time was thought to have attained its higheſt degree of perfection; that he ſhewed a fortitude ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory; that he turned his very miſtakes to better advantage than others do their ſucceſs; that all mankind were either loſt in ſilent admiration of his actions, or could not ſufficiently extol them; and that he reflected as much luſtre upon his nation, as other nations reflect upon their ſovereign.

THIS prince always appears formidable. The opinion he has given of his abilities; the indelible remembrance of his actions; an annual revenue of ſeventy millions *; a treaſure of more than two hundred †; an army of a hundred and fourſcore thouſand men: all this muſt ſecure his tranquillity. Unfortunately it is not ſo beneficial to his ſubjects as it was formerly. He ſtill leaves the management of the coin to the Jews, a circumſtance which has occaſioned the greateſt confuſion. He has done nothing for the relief of the richeſt merchants in his dominions, who have been ruined by his ſchemes. He has taken the moſt conſiderable manufactures into his own hands. His dominions are full of monopolies, which are the bane of all induſtry. His people, who idolized him, have been given up to a ſet of foreign plunderers. This conduct has occaſioned ſuch diſtruſt both at home and abroad, that we may

* 3,062,500l. † 8,750,000l.

venture

venture to affirm, that all endeavours to reſtore the Embden company will prove ineffectual.

O FREDERIC! thou didſt receive from Nature a bold and lively imagination, an unbounded deſire of knowledge, a propenſity to an active life, and a ſtrength of conſtitution to ſupport the fatigues of it. Thine earlier years were devoted to the ſtudy of government, policy, and legiſlation. At the view of thy firſt exploits, mankind, groaning under general oppreſſion and ſlavery, ſeemed to find ſome comfort in their misfortunes, from the expectation that thou wouldſt be their avenger. They foretold thy ſucceſſes, and implored a previous bleſſing upon them; and Europe diſtinguiſhed thee by the title of king and philoſopher.

WHEN thou didſt firſt appear in the field, all nations were aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of thy marches, at the ſkill diſplayed in thy encampments, and at the excellent diſpoſition thou didſt make of thine army in battle. The ſtrict diſcipline in which thy troops were trained, excited univerſal admiration, and inſured them victory: all extolled that mechanical ſubordination which of ſeveral armies makes but one body, whoſe motions, being all governed by one ſingle impulſe, exert their power at once towards the ſame object. Philoſophers themſelves, prejudiced by the hopes thou hadſt raiſed in them, and proud to ſee a friend of the arts and of mankind inveſted with regal dignity, rejoiced perhaps at thy victories, though obtained at the expence

pence of ſo much blood; and they conſidered thee as a model for military kings.

But there is ſtill a more glorious title; that of a patriot king. This is a title never given to thoſe princes, who, making no diſtinction between truth and error, juſtice and partiality, good and evil, conſider the principles of morality merely as metaphyſical ſpeculations, and imagine that human reaſon is ſwayed entirely by intereſt. If the love of glory were extinct in thy breaſt; if the powers of thy ſoul, exhauſted by thy great exploits, had loſt their force and energy; if the childiſh paſſions of old age had reduced thee to a level with the generality of kings; what would then become of thy glory? what would become of thoſe praiſes which fame, and the immortal teſtimony of literature and the arts, have beſtowed upon thee? But let us hope that thy reign and thy life will not appear problematical in hiſtory. Let thine heart again be opened to thoſe noble and virtuous ſentiments that were the delight of thy younger days. Let the latter years of thy life be employed in promoting the felicity of thy people. Let ſucceeding generations experience the effects of that happineſs thou ſhalt beſtow upon the preſent. The power of Pruſſia is the work of thy genius; it has been formed, and it muſt be ſupported by thee. It muſt be adapted to the ſtate whoſe glory thou haſt raiſed.

Let thoſe numberleſs treaſures that are buried in thy coffers circulate again, and give new

life to the ſtate: let thy private poſſeſſions, which a ſudden change of fortune may deprive thee of, be hereafter only ſupported upon the baſis of the national riches, which never can fail: let thy ſubjects, bending under the intolerable yoke of a ſevere and arbitrary government, find in thee the affections of a parent, inſtead of the vexations of an oppreſſor: let exorbitant taxes upon individuals and upon articles of conſumption no longer obſtruct the advancement of agriculture and induſtry: let the inhabitants of the country recovered from a ſtate of ſlavery, and thoſe of the towns becoming perfectly free, paſs their lives agreeably to their inclinations and reſpective powers. Thus ſhalt thou give ſtability to the empire which thy brilliant talents have extended, and rendered illuſtrious; thus ſhall thy name be inſerted in the reſpectable but ſmall liſt of patriot kings.

Let thy virtues carry thee ſtill further, and induce thee to procure the bleſſing of tranquillity to the earth. Let the influence of thy mediation, and the power of thine arms, compel all turbulent and reſtleſs nations to accept of peace. The univerſe is the country of a great man; it is the ſtage ſuited to the diſplay of thy abilities: mayſt thou become the benefactor of all mankind!——

No greatneſs, no felicity, can exiſt in a monarchy without the influence of the ſovereign; but it does not ſolely depend upon the monarch to do every thing that is calculated to procure

cure the happineſs of his people. He often meets with powerful obſtacles in the prejudices, the character, and the diſpoſitions of his ſubjects. Theſe indeed may undoubtedly be corrected; but, till this change has been produced in Spain, we ſhall conſider them as the principal cauſe of the little degree of ſucceſs that has attended the projects ſo often formed, of rendering the trade to the Philippine iſlands proſperous.

Settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippine iſlands.

THE Philippines, formerly known by the name of the Manillas, form an inmenſe Archipelago to the eaſt of Aſia. The mountains in theſe iſlands are peopled with ſavages, who ſeem to be the oldeſt inhabitants of the country. There appears to be ſome analogy between their language and that of Malabar, whence it has been ſuſpected that they might poſſibly have come from that pleaſant region of India. Their life is entirely the ſame as that of beaſts; they have no ſettled habitation, and feed upon the fruits and roots they find in the woods; and, when they have exhauſted one ſpot, they go and feed upon another. All endeavours to reduce them to ſubjection have proved ineffectual, becauſe nothing is more difficult than to ſubdue a wandering nation.

THE plains from which they have been driven, have been ſucceſſively inhabited by colonies from Siam, Sumatra, Borneo, Macaſſar, Malacca, the Moluccas, and Arabia. The manners, religion, and government, of theſe ſtrangers, evidently diſtinguiſh their ſeveral origins.

MAGELLAN

Magellan was the firſt European who diſcovered theſe iſlands. Upon ſome diſcontent, he left Portugal his native country, and entered into the ſervice of the emperor Charles V. and paſſing the ſtreights that now bear his name, he arrived at the Manillas in 1521. He unfortunately died there; but probably this would not have prevented the good conſequences of his voyage, had they not been interrupted by the following occurrences.

In the fifteenth century, whilſt the Portugueſe were beginning to make voyages to the Eaſt Indies, and endeavouring to monopolize the trade of ſpices, and of manufactures which had been in conſtant requeſt among civilized nations; the Spaniards, by the diſcovery of America, were ſecuring greater treaſures than imagination could form any conception of. Though both nations were purſuing their reſpective views of aggrandizement in far diſtant regions, they might probably interfere with each other; and their mutual antipathy would have made ſuch an event dangerous. To prevent this, Pope Alexander VI. fixed their reſpective claims in 1493, in conſequence of that univerſal and ridiculous power which the pontiffs had aſſumed for ſeveral centuries, and which the idolatrous ignorance of two nations equally ſuperſtitious ſtill kept up, that they might plead the excuſe of religion for their avarice. He gave to Spain all the countries that ſhould be diſcovered to the weſt of a meridian taken a hundred leagues from the Azores,

Azores, and to Portugal whatever land they might conquer to the eaſt of that meridian. In proceſs of time, the two powers agreed to remove the line of ſeparation two hundred and fifty leagues further to the weſt, as a means of ſecuring their tranquillity. The court of Rome was not ſufficiently acquainted with the theory of the earth, to know, that, as the Spaniards advanced to the weſt, and the Portugueſe to the eaſt, they muſt meet at laſt. Magellan's expedition evinced this truth.

The Portugueſe, who, though ſeamen themſelves, had no idea that it was poſſible to ſail to India any other way than by the Cape of Good Hope, were greatly ſurprized to ſee the Spaniards come thither by the South Sea. They were apprehenſive for the Moluccas, upon which their rivals pretended to have a claim, as likewiſe upon the Manillas. The court of Liſbon was determined to run any riſque rather than part with the ſpice trade. However, before they ventured to quarrel with the only power whoſe naval ſtrength was then formidable, they thought it adviſeable to try the method of negotiation. They ſucceeded better than they expected. Charles V. who was frequently in want of money to carry on his expeditions, conſented, for the ſum of 3,420,000 livres *, to ſuſpend the armament againſt the Moluccas, till the reſpective claims ſhould be adjuſted. He even engaged, in caſe the deciſion was favourable, not to

* 149,625 l.

make any advantage of it till he had paid the money he had received. After this accommodation, the Spaniſh monarch was ſo intent upon his aggrandizement in Europe and America, that he totally neglected the Eaſt Indies.

In 1564, Philip II. reſumed the project of conquering the Manillas. The execution was committed to Michael Lopez de l'Egaſpe. He formed a permanent eſtabliſhment at Luçonia, the chief of thoſe iſlands, and laid the foundation of ſome ſettlements in the adjacent parts, particularly in Sibu, where Magellan had landed. His ſucceſſors would probably have made an entire conqueſt of this archipelago, if they had been better ſupported, or even if they had not not been under a neceſſity of employing the few troops they had in defending the Portugueſe in the Moluccas. The patience of the Dutch triumphed over ſuch weak and tardy efforts; which only ſerved to prevent for a time thoſe rich poſſeſſions from falling into their hands; and which left the power that Spain had over the Manillas (then called Philippines) in a very languid ſtate, as it has continued ever ſince.

Preſent ſtate of the Philippine iſlands.

In theſe iſlands, the number of Spaniards does not exceed three thouſand: there are three times as many Meſtees. They are all equally employed to keep in ſubjection upwards of one million three hundred and ſixty thouſand Indians, who were ſubdued at the time the computation was made in 1752. Moſt of them are Chriſtians, and all pay a tax of two livres thirteen ſous *.

* 2s. 3d. $\frac{3}{4}$.

They

They are diſperſed in nine iſlands, and diſtributed into twenty departments, twelve of which are in the iſland of Luçonia. The capital, which was always called Manilla, is ſituated at the mouth of a large river, at the bottom of a bay which is thirty leagues in circumferance. L'Egaſpe thought this a fit place to be the center of the power he wanted to eſtabliſh, and accordingly made it the ſeat of government and of trade. Gomez Perez de las Marignas incloſed it with walls, and built fort St. James in 1590. As this harbour will admit none but ſmall ſhips, it was afterwards found expedient to fortify Cavite, which is diſtant but three leagues, and is now the harbour of Manilla. It is ſemicircular, and the ſhips are on all ſides ſheltered from the ſouth winds, but expoſed to thoſe from the north, unleſs they anchor very cloſe to the ſhore. Three or four hundred Indians were formerly employed in the docks, which have been ſo much increaſed within theſe few years, that men of war are now built there for Europe.

The ſettlement is ſubject to a governor, whoſe office continues eight years, but who is ſubordinate to the viceroy of Mexico. He commands the army, diſpoſes of all civil and military employments, and may grant lands to the ſoldiers, and even erect them into fiefs. This power, though ſomewhat balanced by the influence which the clergy and the inquiſition aſſume in all the Spaniſh ſettlements abroad, has been found ſo dangerous, that many expedients have been de-

vised to check its exorbitancy. The most effectual of these expedients is that by which it is decreed, that the conduct of a governor shall be arraigned even after his death; and that, when a governor is recalled, he shall not quit the place till his administration has been inquired into. Every individual is at liberty to complain; and, if he has suffered any wrong, he is to be indemnified at the cost of the delinquent, who is likewise condemned to pay a fine to the sovereign, for having brought an odium upon him. At the time this wise institution was made, it was observed with such rigour, that, when accusations were numerous and weighty against the governor, he was imprisoned. Several died in confinement; and others were taken out, only with a design to inflict severe punishments upon them. But corruption has since insinuated itself; and the person who succeeds is commonly influenced either by considerable bribes, or because he intends to practise the same extortions himself, to palliate those of his predecessor.

This collusion has brought on a settled system of oppression. Arbitrary taxes have been levied; the public revenue has been lessened in passing through the hands that were appointed to collect it; extravagant duties have made trade degenerate into smuggling; the farmer has been compelled to lay up his crops in the magazines of the government; and some governors have carried their tyranny to such atrocious lengths, as to determine the quantity of corn that the fields were

to

to produce, and to oblige the farmers to bring it in; and not only to wait for the payment as long a time as their oppreſſive maſters ſhould think proper, but alſo to receive it in whatever manner it could be given to them. This tyranny has determined vaſt numbers of Indians to forſake the Philippines, or to take refuge in the inacceſſible parts of thoſe iſlands. Several millions are ſaid to have periſhed through ill uſage; and it is impoſſible to conjecture the number of thoſe whoſe very exiſtence has been prevented by the neglect of cultivation, and conſequently the want of food. The few who have eſcaped all theſe calamities, have only found a refuge by living in a ſtate of obſcurity and wretchedneſs. For theſe two centuries paſt ſome governors have attempted to put an end to theſe enormities; but their endeavours have proved ineffectual, becauſe the abuſes were too inveterate to yield to a tranſient and ſubordinate authority. Nothing leſs than the ſupreme power of the court of Madrid could reſtrain the ſpirit of univerſal rapaciouſneſs; but this power has never exerted itſelf for ſuch a purpoſe. This ſhameful neglect is the true cauſe why the Philippine iſlands have never been civilized, and have neither policy nor trade. Their name would ſcarcely be known, were it not for their connections with Mexico.

THOSE connections, which have ſubſiſted ever ſince the firſt ſettlement of the Spaniards in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, conſiſt only in conveying

the produce and merchandiſe of Aſia to America by the South Sea. None of the articles that compoſe theſe rich cargoes are the produce either of the ground or of the manufactures of thoſe iſlands. Their cinnamon is brought from Batavia. The Chineſe bring them ſilks; and the Engliſh or the French ſupply them with white linens and printed callicoes from Bengal and Coromandel. All the eaſtern nations may freely trade there; but the Europeans muſt conceal their flag. They would not be admitted without this precaution, which, however, is but a mere ceremony. From whatever port the goods have been brought, they muſt come in before the departure of the galleons. If they ſhould arrive later, they could not be diſpoſed of, or muſt be ſold at a loſs to merchants, who ſtow them in warehouſes till the next voyage. The payments are made in cochineal and Mexican piaſtres, and partly in cowries, which are not current in Africa, but will paſs every where on the banks of the Ganges.

The people of this iſland ſeldom tranſact buſineſs immediately with the Spaniards. Moſt of them are ſo diſguſted with the fatigues of trade, that they place all their money in the hands of the Chineſe, who enrich themſelves at their coſt. If theſe agents, the moſt active in Aſia, had been compelled to be baptized or to quit the country, as the court of Madrid had ordered in 1750, all buſineſs would have been thrown into the utmoſt confuſion.

Some

Some politicians think this plan would not be detrimental; an opinion that has been long entertained. The Philippines had but juſt opened a communication with America, when the Spaniards thought of giving them up, as being prejudicial to the intereſt of the mother-country. Philip II. and his ſucceſſors conſtantly rejected that propoſal, which was often renewed. The city of Seville in 1731, and that of Cadiz in 1733, entertained more rational notions. Both theſe cities imagined, and it is rather ſurpriſing that the idea did not occur ſooner, that it would be advantageous to the Spaniards to have a direct concern with the trade of Aſia, and that the poſſeſſions they had in thoſe parts ſhould be made the center of their traffic. In vain it was urged, that as India affords ſilks and cottons ſuperior to thoſe of Europe, both in workmanſhip and colouring, and at a much cheaper price, the national manufactures would be ruined. This objection might have its weight with regard to ſome nations; but appeared altogether frivolous, conſidering the ſituation of Spain.

The Spaniards, indeed, uſe none but foreign ſtuffs and linen, either for wearing-apparel or furniture. Thoſe continual demands muſt neceſſarily increaſe the induſtry, the wealth, the population, and ſtrength of their neighbours, who avail themſelves of theſe advantages, to keep that nation which ſupplies them in a ſtate of dependence. It would ſurely be acting with more wiſdom and dignity, were they to uſe the Indian manu-

factures. They would be preferable, both in point of œconomy and elegance, and would leſſen that competition which muſt prove fatal to them in the end.

How much the Philippines might be improved by induſtry.

THE inconveniences, which uſually attend new undertakings, are here previouſly obviated. The iſlands which Spain poſſeſſes lie between Japan, China, Cochinchina, Siam, Borneo, Macaſſar, and the Moluccas, and are favourably ſituated for forming connections with thoſe ſeveral kingdoms. If they are too far diſtant from Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal, effectually to protect any ſettlements that might be formed there; on the other hand, they are ſo near ſeveral countries which the Europeans frequent, that they could eaſily exclude their enemies from thoſe places in time of war. Beſides, their diſtance from the continent ſecures them from the ravages that it is expoſed to, and prevents them from being tempted to interfere in the diviſions which ariſe there. This diſtance, however, does not prevent them from being ſure of ſubſiſtence at home. It is true, the Philippines are ſubject to frequent earthquakes, and they have inceſſant rains from July to November; but all this does not diminiſh the fertility of the ground. No country in Aſia abounds more with fiſh, corn, fruits, vegetables, cattle, ſago, cocoa trees, and eſculent plants of all kinds.

THESE iſlands afford even ſome commodities fit for the trade from one part of India to another, ſuch as ebony, tobacco, wax, thoſe birds neſts that are in ſuch eſtimation, pitch and tar,

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a kind of white hemp fit for ropes and sails, plenty of excellent timber, cowries, pearls; and sugar, which may be cultivated to any quantity; and gold. There are inconteſtable proofs, that, in the earlieſt times the Spaniards ſent over to America large quantities of gold found in the river by the natives of this country. If the quantity they now collect does not exceed twelve hundred weight in a year, this muſt be imputed to the tyranny of the Spaniards, who will not ſuffer them to reap the benefit of their own induſtry. A reaſonable moderation would induce them to reſume theſe labours, and to apply to others ſtill more beneficial to Spain.

The colony will then produce for exportation to Europe, alum, buffalo ſkins, caſſia; the *Faba Sancti Ignatii*, a uſeful drug in phyſic; indigo; cocoa, which has been brought hither from Mexico, and ſucceeds very well; woods for dying, cotton, and baſtard cinnamon, which will perhaps be improved, and which the Chineſe were ſatisfied with, ſuch as it was, before they frequented Batavia. Some travellers affirm, that the iſland of Mindanao, where it grows, formerly produced clove trees alſo. They add, that the ſovereign of the iſland ordered them to be rooted up, ſaying he had better do it himſelf than be compelled to it by the Dutch. This anecdote looks very ſuſpicious. It is certain, however, that the vicinity of the Moluccas affords opportunities for procuring with great facility the trees that bear nutmegs and cloves.

FOREIGN markets will furniſh Spain with ſilks, callicoes, and other articles, of the produce of Aſia, for their own conſumption, and will ſell them cheaper to the Spaniards than to their competitors. All other nations in Europe employ the ſpecie they get from America to trade with in India. Before this ſpecie can reach the place of its deſtination, it muſt have paid conſiderable duties, taken a prodigious compaſs, and have been expoſed to great riſques; whereas the Spaniards, by ſending it directly from America to the Philippines, would ſave duties, time, and inſurance; ſo that, by furniſhing the ſame quantity of ſpecie as the rival nations, they would in reality make their purchaſes at a cheaper rate.

EVEN the quantity of ſpecie conveyed from one place to another might in time be diminiſhed, if theſe iſlands were as much improved as they might be. For this purpoſe, the nations, who frequented theſe ſea-ports before they were invaded by the Spaniards, ſhould be recalled; and every method ſhould be uſed, to obliterate from the memory of the Chineſe the fate of thoſe forty thouſand ſubjects of their empire, who were ſettled in the Philippines, and were almoſt all inhumanly maſſacred, becauſe they would not tamely ſubmit to the horrid yoke that was laid on them. The Chineſe would then deſert Batavia, which is too far diſtant, and cauſe arts and agriculture to revive in theſe iſlands. Their example would ſoon be followed by many free traders of Europe, who are diſperſed

perſed in various parts of India, and conſider themſelves as victims to the monopoly of their reſpective companies. The natives, excited to labour by the advantages inſeparable from ſuch a competition, would no longer remain in a ſtate of indolence. They would be fond of a government that would ſtudy to promote their happineſs; would chearfully ſubmit to its laws, and in a ſhort time would themſelves become Spaniards. If our conjectures are well founded, ſuch a colony would be more profitable than a mere inactive ſettlement, which devours part of the treaſures of America. Such a revolution may eaſily be brought about, and muſt infallibly be haſtened by eſtabliſhing a freedom of trade, an unlimited, civil, and religious liberty, and a perfect ſecurity for the property of individuals.

This can never be the work of an excluſive company. For theſe two centuries paſt, ſince the Europeans have frequented the ſeas of Aſia, they have never been animated by a truly laudable ſpirit. In vain have ſociety, morality, and politics, been improved amongſt us; thoſe diſtant countries have only been witneſſes of our rapaciouſneſs, our reſtleſſneſs, and our tyranny. The miſchief we have done to other parts of the world has ſometimes been compenſated by the knowledge we have imparted to them, and the wiſe inſtitutions we have eſtabliſhed amongſt them: but the Indians have ſtill continued under their former darkneſs and deſpotiſm; and we have taken no pains to reſcue them from thoſe dread-

ful calamities. Had the ſeveral governments directed the ſteps of their free traders, it is probable that the love of glory would have been united to a paſſion for riches, and that ſome nations would have made attempts fit to render their names illuſtrious. Such noble and diſintereſted intentions could never be purſued by any company of merchants: who, being confined by the narrow views of preſent profit, have never employed their thoughts about the happineſs of the people with whom they traded; a circumſtance, which, being naturally expected, hath never been imputed to them as a crime.

How much would it redound to the honour of Spain, from which, perhaps, nothing great is at preſent to be expected, to ſhew a ſenſibility for the intereſts of mankind, and to endeavour to promote them! That nation now begins to ſhake off the fetters of prejudice, which have kept it in a ſtate of infancy, notwithſtanding its natural ſtrength. Its ſubjects are not yet degraded and corrupted by the contagion of riches, from which they have been happily preſerved by their own indolence, and by the rapaciouſneſs of their government. Theſe people muſt neceſſarily be inclined to what is good; they are capable of knowing it, and no doubt would practiſe it, having all the means in their power from the poſſeſſions their conqueſts have given them in the richeſt countries of the univerſe. Their ſhips, ſailing from their ſeveral ports, might either meet at the Canary iſlands,

iſlands, or ſeparately proceed to their ſeveral deſtinations, and thus be the means of procuring happineſs to the remoteſt parts of Aſia. They might return from India by the Cape of Good Hope; but would go thither by the South Sea, where the ſale of their cargoes would greatly increaſe their capitals. This advantage would ſecure to them a ſuperiority over their competitors, who ſail with falſe bills of lading, ſeldom carrying any thing but ſilver. They would meet with a freſh ſupply of proviſions up the river Plata, if they ſhould be in want of them. Thoſe who were able to wait longer, would only put into Chili, or even proceed to the iſland of Juan Fernandez.

THIS delightful iſland, which takes its name from a Spaniard to whom it had been given, and who took a diſlike to it after he had lived there ſome conſiderable time, is ſituated at 110 leagues diſtance from the continent of Chili. Its greateſt length is but about five leagues, and the breadth not quite two. In this ſmall ſpot, where the land is very mountainous and irregular, there is a clear ſky, pure air, excellent water, and every vegetable that is deemed a ſpecific againſt the ſcurvy. It has appeared from experience, that all ſorts of European and American corn, fruit, and quadrupeds, will ſucceed there extremely well. The coaſts abound with fiſh; and, beſides all theſe advantages, there is alſo a good harbour, where ſhips are ſheltered from every wind but the north, and even that never

never blows so strongly as to be attended with any danger.

These conveniences have induced all the pirates, who have infested the coasts of Peru, to put in at Juan Fernandez. Anson, who went to the South Seas with more important projects, found there a comfortable and safe asylum. The Spaniards, at length convinced that the precaution they had taken to destroy the cattle they had placed there is insufficient to keep off their enemies, must build a fort on the island. That military post will become a useful settlement, if the court of Madrid will but attend to her own interest. It is needless to pursue this subject any further. The plan, which we have done nothing more than suggest, would evidently tend to promote the trade, the navigation, and the greatness of Spain. The connections that Russia keeps up with China by land, can never acquire the same degree of importance.

General idea of Tartary.

Between these two vast empires, whose greatness astonishes the imagination, there is an immense space, known in the earliest ages by the name of Scythia, and since by that of Tartary. This region, taken in its full extent, is bounded to the west by the Caspian sea and Persia; to the south by Persia, Indostan, the kingdoms of Arracan and Ava, China, and Corea; to the east by the Pacific ocean; and to the north by the Frozen ocean. One part of these vast deserts is subject to the Chinese empire; another is under

der the dominion of Ruſſia; the third is independent, and is called Khariſm, and Greater and Leſs Bucharia.

THE inhabitants of theſe celebrated regions have always lived by hunting and fiſhing, and upon the milk of their flocks; and have ever had an equal averſion for living in cities, a ſedentary life, and for huſbandry. Their origin and their cuſtoms, ſo far as we are acquainted with them, are equally antient, for the former could never be traced on account of their ſequeſtered and wandering way of life. They have lived in the ſame manner as their fore-fathers did; and, if we look back to the remoteſt antiquity, we ſhall find a very ſtriking reſemblance between the men of the earlieſt ages, and the Tartars of the preſent time.

THESE people have in general been followers of the great Lama, who reſides at Putali, a town ſituated in a diſtrict which partly belongs to Tartary, and partly to India. This extenſive region, where mountains riſe above one another, is called Boutan by the inhabitants of Indoſtan, Tangut by the Tartars, Tſanli by the Chineſe, Laſſa by the Indians beyond the Ganges, and Thibet by the Europeans.

THEIR religion appears, from monuments of undoubted authority, to be of above three thouſand years ſtanding, and is founded on the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, and the ſublimeſt principles of morality.

It has been generally imagined, that the followers of the Lama believe him to be immortal; that, in order to maintain the deception, this divinity never appears but to a few favourites; that, when he receives the adoration of the people, it is always in a kind of tabernacle, where a dim light ſhews rather a faint repreſentation, than an exact reſemblance of that living god; that, when he dies, another prieſt is ſubſtituted in his ſtead, as nearly of the ſame ſize and figure as poſſible; and that, by means of theſe precautions, the deluſion is kept up, even on the very ſpot where the farce is acted; and much more, without doubt, in the minds of believers who are further removed from it.

A SAGACIOUS philoſopher has lately removed this prejudice. It is true, the great Lamas ſeldom ſhew themſelves, the better to maintain that veneration they have inſpired for ther perſon and their myſteries; but they give audience to ambaſſadors, and admit princes who come to viſit them. But if their perſon is ſeldom to be ſeen, except on ſome important occaſions, or on great feſtivals, their picture is always in full view, being hung up over the doors of the temple at Putali.

WHAT has given riſe to the fable of the immortality of the Lamas is, that it is a tenet of their faith, that the holy ſpirit, which has animated one of theſe pontiffs, immediately upon his death paſſes into the body of him who is duly elected to ſucceed him. This tranſmigration of the divine ſpirit is perfectly conſonant to the doctrine

of the metempſychoſis, which has always been the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem in thoſe parts.

THE religion of Lama made conſiderable progreſs in early times. It was adopted in a large part of the globe. It is profeſſed all over Thibet and Mongalia; is almoſt univerſal in Greater and Leſs Bucharia, and ſeveral provinces of Tartary; and has ſome followers in the kingdom of Caſſimere in India, and in China.

THIS is the only worſhip that can boaſt of ſuch remote antiquity, without any mixture of other ſyſtems. The religion of the Chineſe has been frequently adulterated by the introduction of foreign deities and ſuperſtitions; which have been adapted to the taſte of the lower claſs of people. The Jews have ſeen an end of their hierarchy, and their temple has been demoliſhed. Alexander and Mohammed uſed their utmoſt endeavours to extinguiſh the ſacred fire of the Gaurs. Tamerlane and the Moguls have in a great meaſure diminiſhed the worſhipers of the god Brama in India. But neither time, fortune, nor men, have ever been able to ſhake the divine power of the great Lama.

THIS ſtability and perpetuity muſt be peculiar to thoſe religions that have a fixed ſyſtem, a well-regulated eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, and a ſupreme head, who by his authority ſupports thoſe doctrines in their primitive ſtate, by condemning all new opinions, which pride might be tempted to introduce, and credulity to adopt. The Lamas themſelves confeſs that they are no gods; but they pretend to repreſent the divinity, and to have re-

ceived a power from heaven to decide ultimately on whatever relates to public worſhip. Their theocracy extends as fully to temporal as to ſpiritual matters; but all civil matters, held profane by them, they conſider as inconſiſtent with their dignity, and therefore commit the care of government to perſons whom they judge to be worthy of their confidence. This has ſucceſſively occaſioned the loſs of ſeveral provinces of their vaſt dominions, which have fallen a prey to their governors. The great Lama, who formerly was abſolute maſter of all Thibet, now poſſeſſes but a ſmall part of it.

The religious opinions of the Tartars have never enervated their valour. It was to oppoſe their inroads into China, that, three hundred years before the chriſtian æra, that famous wall was built, which extends from the river Hoambo to the ſea of Kamtſchatka; which has a terrace running all along the top of it, and is flanked in different parts with large towers, after the antient manner of fortifying. Such a monument ſhews that there muſt have been at that time a prodigious population in the empire: but at the ſame time it ſeems to indicate that there was a want of proweſs and military ſkill. If the Chineſe had been men of courage, they would themſelves have attacked the roving tribes, or kept them in awe by well-diſciplined armies; if they had been ſkilled in the art of war, they would have known that lines five hundred leagues long could not be defended in every part, and that, if they were broken but in one

one place, all the reſt of the fortification would become uſeleſs.

The inroads, indeed, of the Tartars continued till the thirteenth century. At that period, the empire was conquered by thoſe barbarians, under the command of Gingis-Khan. This foreign power was not deſtroyed till after eighty-nine years, when it fell into the hands of an indolent prince, who was governed by women, and was a ſlave to his miniſters.

When the Tartars were expelled from the conqueſts they had made, they did not adopt the laws and government of China. When they repaſſed the great wall, they relapſed into barbariſm, and lived in their deſerts in as uncivilized a ſtate as they had done before. They united, however, with the few who had continued in their roving way of life, and formed ſeveral hords, which inſenſibly became populous, and in proceſs of time incorporated into that of the Manchews. Their union inſpired them again with the project of invading China, which was torn with domeſtic diſſentions. The diſcontented parties were then ſo numerous, that they had no leſs than eight different armies under the command of as many chiefs. In this confuſion the Tartars, who had long ravaged the northern provinces of the empire, ſeized upon the capital in 1644, and ſoon after upon the whole kingdom.

This revolution did not ſeem ſo much to ſubdue China, as to add to its extent, by the acceſſion of a great part of Tartary. Soon after this, China was further enlarged by the ſubmiſſion of the

Mogul Tartars, celebrated for having founded moſt of the thrones in Aſia, and in particular that of Indoſtan.

THE conquerors ſubmitted to the laws of the people they had conquered, and exchanged their own cuſtoms and manners for thoſe of their ſlaves. This has been alledged as a proof of the wiſdom of the Chineſe government; but it ſeems to be no more than a natural conſequence of this plain and ſimple principle, that the leſs number muſt yield to the greater. The Tartars, in the moſt populous empire upon earth, were not in the proportion of one to ten thouſand; ſo that, to bring about a change of manners and government, one Tartar muſt have prevailed over ten thouſand Chineſe, which is hardly poſſible in the nature of things. We have ſufficient proofs of the excellence of the Chineſe adminiſtration, without having recourſe to this. Beſides, thoſe Tartars had no ſettled cuſtoms and manners; no wonder, then, if they adopted indiſcriminately inſtitutions they found in China. This revolution was ſcarce compleated, when the empire was threatened with a new enemy, that might prove a formidable one.

Contentions of the Ruſſians and Chineſe in Tartary.

THE Ruſſians, who towards the latter end of the ſixteenth century had conquered the uncultivated plains of Siberia, had penetrated through a number of deſerts to the river Amour, which led them to the eaſtern ſea, and as far as Selenga, which brought them on the confines of China, a country ſo highly extolled for its riches.

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THE Chineſe were apprehenſive that the incurſions of the Ruſſians might in time give them ſome diſturbance; and they erected ſome forts to reſtrain this neighbouring power, whoſe ambition began to excite their jealouſy. Sharp conteſts then aroſe between the two nations concerning their boundaries. Skirmiſhes were frequent between the parties engaged in the purſuits of the chace, and an open war was daily expected. Very fortunately the plenipotentiary of the two courts found means to bring about a reconciliation in 1689; the limits were fixed at the river Kerbechi, near the place of negotiation, 300 leagues from the great wall. This was the firſt treaty the Chineſe had ever been concerned in ſince the foundation of their empire, and it brought on a new arrangement. They granted the Ruſſians the liberty of ſending a caravan every year to Pekin, an indulgence which had always been denied to foreigners with the utmoſt precaution. It was eaſily perceived that the Tartars, though they conformed to the manners and government of the Chineſe, did not adopt their political maxims.

The Ruſſians obtain leave to ſend a caravan to China.

THIS liberty granted to the Ruſſians did not inſpire them with moderation. They perſiſted in their uſurpations, and built a city thirty leagues beyond the ſtipulated limits, which they called Albaſſinſkoi. The Chineſe, having in vain complained of this encroachment, at laſt determined to avenge themſelves in 1715. As the Czar was engaged in a war on the Baltic, and could not ſpare troops to defend the extremities of Tartary, the place was taken after a ſiege of three years.

THE court of Peterſburgh was prudent enough not to give way to a fruitleſs reſentment. They ſent a miniſter to Pekin in 1719, with inſtructions to renew the trade that had been loſt amidſt the late diſturbances. The negotiation ſucceeded; but the caravan of 1721 not being conducted with more caution than the former, it was agreed that for the future no tranſactions ſhould be carried on between the two nations except upon the frontiers. Freſh contentions have again interrupted this intercourſe, and they now carry on only a contraband trade; even that is inconſiderable, but it is thought the Ruſſians are endeavouring to increaſe it.

THE advantages they will derive from it are ſufficient to induce them to ſurmount all the difficulties inſeparable from ſuch an undertaking. They are the only nation in Europe that can trade with the Chineſe without money, and barter their own commodities for thoſe of China. With their rich and choice furs, they will always purchaſe what the Chineſe can furniſh to great part of the globe. Independent of the commodities they want for their own conſumption, they may eſtabliſh a commerce in the articles of tea and rhubarb. It would be both prudent and eaſy to re-export theſe two articles, becauſe, when brought over by land, they will be preſerved in higher perfection than they can poſſibly be in a voyage over thoſe immenſe ſeas, which every commodity, imported from ſuch remote parts of Aſia, muſt neceſſarily paſs. But to turn this trade to any advantage, it muſt be conducted

ducted upon other principles than have hitherto been followed.

FORMERLY a caravan went every year from Peterſburgh, traverſed immenſe deſerts, and was met on the frontiers of China by ſome hundreds of ſoldiers, who eſcorted it to the capital of the empire. There all who belonged to it were ſhut up in a caravanſera, to wait till the merchants ſhould offer them the refuſe of their warehouſes. The traffic being thus completed, the caravan returned to Ruſſia, and arrived at Peterſburgh three years after it had ſet out from thence.

IN the ordinary courſe of things, the indifferent merchandiſe brought by the caravan would have been of very little value; but as this trade was carrid on for the court, and that the goods were always ſold under the immediate inſpection of the ſovereign, commodities of the worſt kind acquired a value. Being admitted to this kind of fair, was a privilege which the monarch ſeldom granted but to his favourites. All were deſirous of approving themſelves worthy of this diſtinction, and the way to ſucceed was by over-bidding each other without diſcretion, as each was ambitious that his name ſhould appear upon the liſt of the buyers. Notwithſtanding this ſhameful emulation, what was put up to ſale was ſo trifling, that the produce, deducting the conſumption of the court, never amounted to 100,000 crowns *. To make this traffic of greater conſequence, it ſhould be intruſted to the ſkill, activity, and management, of private perſons.

* 13,125l.

Projects of the Ruſſian court to trade to India through Independent Tartary.

THIS method ſhould have been adopted, if a communication could have been eſtabliſhed between Siberia and India by Independent Tartary, as Peter the firſt had deſigned. That great prince, whoſe mind was always engaged in ſome uſeful project, was deſirous of opening that communication by means of the Sirth, which waters the Turkeſtan; and in 1719 he ſent 2500 men in order to make himſelf maſter of that river.

THERE was no ſuch river to be found; its waters had been turned off, and conveyed through ſeveral channels to the lake Atall. This had been done by the Uſbeck Tartars, who had taken umbrage at the repeated obſervations they had ſeen making. The Ruſſians determined therefore to return to Aſtracan. The court of Peterſburgh was obliged to relinquiſh the project, and remain ſatisfied with the intercourſe already formed with India by the Caſpian ſea.

Intercourſe between Ruſſia and India by the Caſpian ſea.

THIS was, in the remoteſt ages, the track by which the north and ſouth communicated with each other. The regions bordering upon that immenſe lake, which are at preſent very much depopulated, extremely poor, and in a ſavage eſtate, afford to intelligent minds evident proofs of former ſplendor. Coins of the antient Kaliphs are daily diſcovered there. Theſe monuments, with others equally authentic, would ſeem to favour the account of ſome Indians having been ſhipwrecked on the coaſts of the Elbe in the reign of Auguſtus, which has always been conſidered as fabulous, notwithſtanding the concurrent teſtimony of cotemporary writers who related the fact. It is inconceivable

ceivable how any inhabitants of India could ſail on the Germanic ſeas; but, as Voltaire obſerves, it was not more wonderful to ſee an Indian trading in the northern countries, than to ſee a Roman make his way into India through Arabia. The Indians went into Perſia, where they embarked on the Hircanian ſea, ſailed up the Wolga, penetrated into Permia by the Kama, and from thence might embark on the northern ſea or on the Baltic. Men of enterpriſing genius have appeared in all ages.

WHATEVER may be thought of theſe conjectures, the Engliſh had no ſooner diſcovered Archangel, about the middle of the ſixteenth century, and ſettled a commerce with Ruſſia, than they formed the project of opening a way into Perſia by the Wolga and the Caſpian ſea, which would be much eaſier and ſhorter than that of the Portugueſe, who were obliged to ſail round Africa and part of Aſia, to get into the gulph of Perſia. A further inducement to attempt it was, that the northern parts of Perſia, bordering upon the Caſpian ſea, produce much richer commodities than the ſouthern. The ſilks of Chirvan, Mazanderan, and more eſpecially Gilan, are the beſt in all the eaſt, and might be employed with advantage in any manufactures. But the trade of the Engliſh was not yet ſufficiently confirmed, to encounter the difficulties that muſt attend ſo vaſt and ſo complicated an undertaking.

SOME years after, a duke of Holſtein, who had eſtabliſhed ſome ſilk manufactures in his dominions, was not deterred by theſe difficulties. He wanted

to get the raw silk from Persia, and sent ambassadors thither, who lost their lives on the Caspian sea.

When the French were convinced of the influence of trade on the political balance of Europe, they also wished to procure Persian silks by way of Russia; but their fatal passion for conquest made them forget this project, as well as many others that had been suggested by men of understanding, for the welfare of that great nation.

Peter I. guided by his own genius, his own experience, and the informations of foreigners, could not but be sensible at last, that his subjects were the people who ought to enrich themselves by the production of Persia, and in time that of India. Accordingly in 1722, at the first beginning of the commotions that have overturned the empire of the Sophis, that great prince seized upon the fertile regions bordering on the Caspian sea. The heat of the climate, the dampness of the soil, and the malignancy of the air, destroyed the troops that were left to defend those conquests. Russia, however, did not resolve to relinquish the provinces she had usurped, till she found in the year 1736 that Kouli Khan, who had conquered the Turks, could compel her to restore them.

The court of Petersburgh laid aside all thoughts of carrying on any commerce with that part of the world, when an Englishman of the name of Elton laid a scheme, in 1741, for putting his country in possession of it. This enterprising man was in the service of Russia: his proposal was, to convey English woollen cloths, by way of the Wolga

Wolga and the Caſpian ſea, to Perſia, to the north of Indoſtan, and to the greateſt part of Tartary. In conſequence of this traffic, he was to receive, in exchange, gold, and ſuch commodities as the Armenians ſold at an extravagant price, being maſters of all the inland trade of Aſia. This project was warmly adopted by the Engliſh company in Muſcovy, and favoured by the Ruſſian miniſtry.

But the Engliſh adventurer had ſcarce begun to put it in execution, when Kouli Khan, who wanted bold and active men to ſecond his ambition, found means to entice him into his ſervice, and by his aſſiſtance to make himſelf maſter of the Caſpian ſea. The court of Peterſburgh, exaſperated at this treachery, revoked in 1746 all the privileges they had granted; but this was an ineffectual remedy for ſo great an evil. The untimely death of the Perſian tyrant was much more likely to bring matters into their former ſtate.

That great revolution, which once more plunged the Sophy's dominions into greater anarchy than ever, reſtored to the Ruſſians the dominion over the Caſpian Sea. This was a neceſſary prelude to the opening of a trade with Perſia and India, but was not alone ſufficient to enſure its ſucceſs; which met with almoſt inſuperable obſtacles from the Armenians. An active nation, accuſtomed to the eaſtern manners, in poſſeſſion of a large capital, extremely frugal in their expences, who had already formed connections from time immemorial, entered into the minuteſt details, and embraced the moſt comprehenſive ſpeculations: ſuch

ſuch a nation was not eaſily to be ſupplanted. Nor did the court of Peterſburgh expect it, but wiſely determined to allure a number of thoſe artful, induſtrious, and wealthy people, to ſettle at Aſtracan. It is through their hands that all merchandiſe, coming from Aſia to Ruſſia by land, always did and ſtill does paſs. This traffic is very inconſiderable; and it will require time before it can be increaſed, unleſs ſome expedient can be found to diſpoſe of the articles by re-exportation. To make this more evident, it will only be neceſſary to take a curſory view of the preſent ſtate of Ruſſia.

State of the Ruſſian empire, and the means neceſſary to make it flouriſh.

THIS empire, which, like all others, roſe from ſmall beginnings, is become, in proceſs of time, the largeſt in the world. Its extent from eaſt to weſt is 2200 leagues, and from ſouth to north about 800.

MANY of the people of this vaſt empire never had any form of government, and have none to this day. Thoſe who by violence, or from particular circumſtances, have obtained the rule over the reſt, have always been actuated by Aſiatic principles, and have been oppreſſors or arbitrary tyrants. The only point, in which they have conformed to the cuſtoms of Europe, has been the inſtitution of a peerage.

THESE are undoubtedly the chief cauſes which have prevented the increaſe of the human race in that immenſe country. By the ſurvey taken in 1747, there appeared but 6,646,390 perſons who paid the poll-tax; and in theſe were comprehended all

all the males from the infant to the oldeſt man. Suppoſing the number of women to be equal to that of men, there will appear to be 13,292,780 ſlaves in Ruſſia. To this calculation muſt be added the claſſes of men in the empire who are exempt from paying this ſhameful tax; the military, who amount to 200,000 men; the nobility and clergy, who are ſuppoſed to amount to the like number; and the inhabitants of the Ukraine and Livonia, computed at 1,200,000. So that the whole population of Ruſſia does not exceed 14,892,780 perſons of both ſexes.

It would be needleſs, as it is impoſſible, to number the people who rove about thoſe vaſt deſerts. As theſe hords of Tartars, Siberians, Samoiedes, Laplanders, and Oſtiacs, cannot contribute to the wealth, ſtrength, or ſplendor of a ſtate, they are to be reckoned of little or no conſequence in the account.

The population being ſmall, the revenues of the empire cannot be conſiderable. When Peter I. came to the crown, the taxes brought-in but twenty-five millions *; he raiſed them to ſixty-five †. Since his death they have not greatly increaſed; and yet the people are ſinking under a burden which their ſtrength, enervated by deſpotiſm, is unable to ſupport.

Every circumſtance ſeems to call upen Ruſſia to provide a remedy againſt this want of population and wealth. The only effectual one is agriculture. It would be needleſs to encourage it in

* 1,093,750l. † 2,843,750l.

the

the northern provinces; nothing can thrive in thoſe frozen deſerts. The ſcattered inhabitants of this inhoſpitable climate will never be ſupplied with any kind of food and raiment except what they can procure from birds, fiſh, and wild beaſts; nor will they ever have any thing beſides theſe to pay their taxes with.

FURTHER from the north, nature begins to wear a milder aſpect, and the country is more populous, and more capable of vegetation; yet throughout an immenſe extent of territory there are no marks of plenty, from the want of men and ſufficient means for the cultivation of the land. The ſoil will become ſufficiently fertile, if agriculture meets with reward and encouragement from the wiſdom of government. The Ukraine deſerves particular attention.

THAT ſpacious region, which has belonged to the Porte and to Poland, and is now a part of the Czar's dominions, is perhaps the moſt fruitful country in the known world. It ſupplies Ruſſia with moſt of her home conſumption, and articles of trade; and yet ſhe does not receive the twentieth part of what it might be made to produce. The Coſſacks, who inhabited that country, have almoſt all periſhed in deſtructive wars. Some attempts have been made to re-place them by Oſtiacs and Samoiedes; but it has not been conſidered, that, in blending men ſo ſmall and deformed with others of a tall, robuſt, and valiant race, the former would only ſerve to make the latter degenerate. It would be very eaſy and practicable to give encouragement to the Moldavians and Walachians

to ſettle there, as they profeſs the ſame religion as Ruſſia, and conſider it as the ſeat of the Greek empire.

NOTHING would be more conducive to cultivation than the working of the mines. Some are to be met with in ſeveral provinces; but they are numerous in Siberia, though it is a low country, and the ſoil is moiſt and marſhy. The iron that is dug out of theſe mines is better than in any other part of Ruſſia, and equal to that of Sweden. The working of them would employ a number of men, and furniſh excellent implements of huſbandry to a ſet of miſerable ſlaves, who are compelled to dig a hard and ſtubborn ſoil with inſtruments of wood. Beſides theſe iron mines, there are alſo others which contain thoſe precious metals that are ſo eagerly and ſo univerſally coveted, and which are to be found in no part of the country except Siberia. The ſilver mines near Argun have long been known; and others, both of ſilver and gold, have lately been diſcovered in the country of the Baſkirs. It would be prudent for ſome nations to neglect and ſtop up theſe ſources of wealth; but that is not the caſe with Ruſſia, where all the inland provinces are ſo poor, that they are ſcarcely acquainted with thoſe ſigns that have been univerſally agreed upon to anſwer every article of commerce.

THE trade which the Ruſſians have opened with China, Perſia, Turkey, and Poland, conſiſts principally in furs, ſuch as ermine, ſables, white wolves and black foxes ſkins, which all come from Siberia. Some ſkins that are remarkably fine, which have very

very long gloſſy hair, of a beautiful colour, or happen to be particularly pleaſing to the buyer, ſell at a moſt extravagant price. Theſe branches of commerce might become more conſiderable, and be extended to other objects.

But the greateſt demand for the produce of the country will always be on the ſide of the Baltic. It ſeldom paſſes through the hands of the Ruſſian merchants. They commonly want ſkill, ſtock, credit, and liberty. The import and export of all commodities is tranſacted by foreign houſes.

No country is ſo happily ſituated for extending its commerce. Almoſt all its rivers are navigable. Peter the Great improved this natural advantage by the aſſiſtance of art, and ordered canals to be cut to join thoſe rivers together. The moſt important of them are finiſhed; others are not quite completed, and ſome are only planned. Such is the grand project of joining the Caſpian ſea to the Euxine, by digging a canal from the Tanais to the Wolga.

Unfortunately theſe means, which render the circulation of all commodities ſo eaſy in the interior parts of Ruſſia, and ſo much facilitate an intercourſe with all parts of the globe, are made uſeleſs by thoſe reſtraints which are not to be ſurmounted by induſtry.

The government have reſerved to themſelves the privilege of buying and ſelling the moſt valuable productions of the country; and, as long as this monopoly continues, trade will not be carried on with any degree of honeſty or ſpirit. The abolition of this deſtructive monopoly would contribute

tribute to public prosperity, but that alone would not be sufficient, without the reduction of the army.

When Peter I. came to the crown, the military in Russia consisted only of 40,000 Strelits, undisciplined and ferocious men, who had no courage but against the people whom they oppressed, and against the sovereign whom they deposed or murdered at pleasure. This great prince disbanded those seditious troops, and established an army, modelled after those of the other states in Europe.

Notwithstanding the goodness of its troops, Russia is, of all the different powers, that which ought to be the most cautious of entering into a war. The desire of acquiring an influence in the affairs of Europe should never tempt the Russians far from their own frontiers; they could not act without subsidies, and it would be the highest absurdity for a nation, that has but six persons to a league square, ever to think of engaging in foreign service. Nor should they be excited to hostilities by the desire of enlarging their dominions, which are already too extensive. Russia will never reap the benefit of the labours of the Czar, and form a compact state, or become an enlightened and flourishing nation, unless it renounces the rage of conquest, to apply solely to the arts of peace. None of its neighbours can compel it to depart from this salutary system.

On the north side, the empire is better guarded by the frozen sea, than it would be by squadrons and fortresses.

To the eaſt, a ſingle battalion and two field-pieces would diſperſe all the hords of Tartars that ſhould attempt to moleſt them.

SHOULD Perſia ever again become powerful enough to make any attempts againſt this empire, they would be rendered ineffectual by the Caſpian ſea, and by thoſe immenſe deſerts which ſeparate that country from Ruſſia.

To the ſouth, the Turks have at preſent loſt their power; and the war would be equally detrimental to the conquered or the conquering party, on account of the ſpot where it muſt be carried on.

To the weſt, the Ruſſians have nothing to fear from the Poles, who never had any fortified towns, nor troops, nor revenue, nor government, and have hardly any territory left.

SWEDEN has loſt all that made her formidable; and without doubt may even be deprived of Finland, whenever it ſhould ſuit the intereſt of the court of Peterſburg.

SHOULD the genius of Frederick, which now ſerves as a counterpoiſe in the north to the forces of Muſcovy, deſcend to his ſucceſſors, it is not likely that the ambition of Brandenburgh ſhould ever turn towards Ruſſia. Thoſe monarchs could never venture an attack upon that empire, without turning their forces alſo towards Germany; and this would neceſſarily divide their ſtrength in ſuch a manner, that it could not act with efficacy.

THE reſult of theſe diſcuſſions is, that it is for the true intereſt of Ruſſia to reduce her land forces, and poſſibly her navy alſo.

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THE ſmall connections of that empire with the reſt of Europe were wholly carried on by land, when the Engliſh, in ſeeking a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the northern ſeas, diſcovered the port of Archangel. Sailing up the Dwina, they came to Moſcow, and there laid the foundation of a new trade.

RUSSIA had as yet no other communication with her neighbours but by this port, when Peter I. invited the traders who frequent the white ſea to come to the Baltic, and endeavoured to procure a more extenſive and advantageous mart for the productions of his empire. His creative genius ſoon enlarged his views. He was ambitious of making his country become a maritime power, and ſtationed his fleets at Cronſtadt, which is a harbour to Peterſburg.

THE ſea is not broad enough before the mouth of the harbour. The ſhips that are coming in are forcibly driven by the impetuoſity of the Neva upon the dangerous coaſts of Finland. The way to it is through a channel ſo full of breakers, that they cannot be avoided unleſs the weather is remarkably fine. The ſhips ſoon rot in the harbour. The ſailing of the ſquadrons is greatly retarded by the ice. There is no getting out but by an eaſterly wind; and the weſterly winds blow in thoſe latitudes the greateſt part of the ſummer. Another inconvenience is, that the dock-yards are at Peterſburg, from whence the ſhips cannot get to Cronſtadt, without paſſing over a very dangerous flat that lies in the middle of the river.

If Peter I. had not had that partiality which great men have, as well as others, for their own plans, he might eaſily have been made ſenſible that Cronſtadt and Peterſburg are improper places for the naval forces of Ruſſia, and that it is in vain to expect that art ſhould remove every natural diſadvantage. He would have given the preference to Revel, which is much fitter for the purpoſe. Perhaps too, his own reflections would have led him to conſider that the nature of his empire was not calculated for that ſpecies of power.

Russia has but few ſea-coaſts; moſt of them are not peopled; and no navigation will ever be carried on, unleſs there ſhould be a change of government. Where then will officers be found capable of commanding men of war?

Peter I. however, found means to form a navy. A paſſion, which nothing could controul, made him ſurmount obſtacles which were thought to be invincible; but this he did with more parade than utility. If ever his ſucceſſors are earneſtly intent to promote the good of their empire, they will forego the vain glory of diſplaying their flag in diſtant latitudes, where they have no trade to protect, as theirs is all carried on upon their own coaſts, and only by foreign merchants. When the Ruſſians thus change their ſyſtem, they will ſave the needleſs expence of thirty-ſix or forty men of war, and will be ſatisfied with their galleys, which are ſufficient for their defence, and would even enable them to attack all the powers on the Baltic, if it ſhould be neceſſary.

THESE galleys are of different rates: ſome are fitted for cavalry, but a greater number for infantry. As the troops themſelves, who are taught to manage the oar, compoſe the crew, the galleys are armed without expence or delay. The anchor is dropt every night, and the troops land where they are leaſt expected.

WHEN the landing is effected, the troops draw the galleys aſhore, and form a kind of intrenchment with them. Part of the army are left as a guard, and the reſt diſperſe about the country that they intend to lay under contribution. When the expedition is over, they reimbark, and renew their plunders in other places. Experience has ſhewn how much may be done by theſe armaments.

THE changes we have ſuggeſted are indiſpenſably neceſſary to render Ruſſia a flouriſhing ſtate; but this is not the only thing required. To inſure the continuance of her proſperity, ſome ſtability muſt be given to the order of the ſucceſſion. The crown of Ruſſia was long hereditary; Peter I. made it patrimonial; and it became elective at the laſt revolution. But every nation would wiſh to know upon what right its government is eſtabliſhed; and the claim that has the greateſt effect upon the people is birth-right. When this evident mark of ſucceſſion is removed from the eyes of the multitude, univerſal revolt and diſſention prevail.

BUT it is not enough to give the people a ſovereign whom they cannot refuſe to acknow-

ledge: that ſovereign muſt make them happy; and this can never be done in Ruſſia, till the form of government is changed.

Civil ſlavery is the condition of every ſubject in the empire, who is not noble: they are all at the diſpoſal of their barbarous maſters, as cattle are in other countries. Amongſt theſe ſlaves, none are ſo ill uſed as thoſe who till the ground; thoſe valuable men, whoſe eaſe, happineſs, and freedom, have been celebrated with ſuch enthuſiaſm in happier climates.

Political ſlavery is the lot of the whole nation, ſince the ſovereigns have eſtabliſhed arbitrary power. Among the ſubjects who are conſidered as free, not one can be morally certain of the ſafety of his perſon, the property of his fortune, or even of his liberty, which may at any time be taken away, except in ſome caſes previouſly determined by law.

Europe has long been entertained with the project of a code of laws preparing for Ruſſia. The great princeſs, who now governs that empire, well knew, that the people themſelves muſt approve the laws they are to obey, that they may reverence and value them as their own work; and thus addreſſed the deputies from all the cities of her vaſt empire: *My children, conſider well, with me, the intereſts of the nation; let us together draw up a body of laws, which may eſtabliſh public felicity upon a permanent baſis.* But what are laws without magiſtrates? What are magiſtrates, whoſe ſentence the deſpot may reverſe according

according to his own caprice, and even puniſh them for paſſing it?

UNDER ſuch a government, no tie can ſubſiſt between the members and their head. If he is always formidable to them, they are no leſs ſo to him. The ſtrength he exerts to oppreſs them, is no other than their own united ſtrength turned againſt themſelves. Deſpair, or a nobler ſentiment, may every moment turn it againſt him.

THE reſpect due to the memory of ſo great a man as Peter I. ought not to prevent us from declaring that his talents did not enable him at one view to diſcover every requiſite neceſſary to form a well-conſtituted ſtate. He was naturally a man of genius, and had been inſpired with a love of glory. This paſſion made him active, patient, aſſiduous, indefatigable, and capable of conquering every difficulty which nature, ignorance, cuſtom, or obſtinacy, could oppoſe to prevent the ſucceſs of this enterprizes. With theſe virtues, and the foreign aids he called in, he ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing an army, a fleet, and a ſea-port. He made ſeveral regulations neceſſary for the proſecution of his great projects; but though he has been generally extolled as a law-giver, he only enacted two or three laws, and thoſe bear a ſtamp of a ſavage diſpoſition. He never proceeded ſo far as to combine the happineſs of his people with his own perſonal greatneſs. After his noble inſtitutions, his people were as wretched as ever, and ſtill groaned under poverty, ſlavery, and op-

preſſion. He never relaxed in any one inſtance his arbitrary power, but rather made it more oppreſſive; and bequeathed to his ſucceſſors that deteſtable and pernicious idea, that the ſubjects are nothing, and that the ſovereign is all.

SINCE his death, it has been repeatedly aſſerted that the nation was not yet ſufficiently enlightened to receive any benefit from being made free. But let flattering courtiers and falſe miniſters learn, that liberty is the birth-right of all men; that every well-regulated ſociety ought to be directed to the general good; and that it is power obtained by unlawful means which has deprived the greateſt part of the globe of this natural advantage.

CATHERINE, who ſeems to have aſcended the throne with an ambition for great actions, begins to be ſenſible, that ravages committed in the deſerts of Moldavia, and in ſome defenceleſs iſlands, bought with the lives of two or three hundred thouſand men, will not endear her name to poſterity. She is labouring to inſtil notions of liberty into a people ſtupified by ſlavery; but it is doubtful whether ſhe will ſucceed with the preſent generation.

WITH regard to the next, perhaps, the beſt method would be, to chuſe out one of the moſt fertile provinces of the empire, to erect habitations there, and to ſupply them with all the implements of huſbandry, and to allot a portion of land to each houſe. It would then be proper to invite free men from civilized countries, to give them the entire property of the houſes

and lands prepared for them, to ſecure to them a ſubſiſtence for three years, and to have them governed by a chief who has no property in the country. A toleration ſhould be granted to all religions, and conſequently private and domeſtic worſhip ſhould be allowed, but no public form of worſhip be eſtabliſhed.

From thence the ſeeds of liberty would ſpread all over the empire: the adjacent countries would ſee the happineſs of theſe coloniſts, and wiſh to be as happy as they. Were I to be caſt among ſavages, I would not bid them build huts to ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather; they would only laugh at me; but I would build one myſelf. When the ſevere ſeaſon came on, I ſhould enjoy the benefit of my fore-ſight; the ſavage would ſee it, and next year he would imitate me. It is the ſame with an enſlaved nation; we are not to bid them be free; but we are to lay before their eyes the ſweets of liberty, and they will wiſh for them.

I would by no means impoſe upon my coloniſts the burden of the firſt expences I had incurred on their account; much leſs would I entail the pretended debt upon their offſpring. This would be falſe and inhuman policy. Is not a ſtate ſufficiently rewarded by a man of twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years of age, who voluntarily devotes his perſon, his ſtrength, his talents, and his life, to the ſervice of the public? Muſt he pay a rent likewiſe for the preſent he makes? When he becomes opulent, he may be conſidered as a ſubject, but not till the third or fourth generation, if the project is meant to ſucceed, and if the people are to be brought to

that

that condition, the advantages of which they have had time to be acquainted with.

In this new arrangement, where the intereſts of the monarch will be blended with thoſe of the ſubject, in order to ſtrengthen Ruſſia, ſhe muſt aim leſs at glory, and ſacrifice the influence ſhe has aſſumed over the general affairs of Europe. Peterſburg, which has improperly been made a capital, muſt be reduced to a meer commercial ſtaple; and the ſeat of government transferred to the heart of the empire. It is from ſuch a center of dominion, that a wiſe ſovereign, acquainted with the wants and reſources of his people, will effectually labour to unite the detached parts of that large empire. From the ſuppreſſion of every kind of ſlavery will ſpring up a middle ſtate among the people, without which, neither arts, manners, nor learning, ever exiſted in any nation.

Till this is accompliſhed, the court of Ruſſia will endeavour in vain to enlighten the nation, by inviting famous men from all countries. Thoſe exotics will periſh there, as foreign plants do in our green-houſes. In vain will they erect ſchools and academies at Peterſburg; in vain will they ſend pupils to Paris and to Rome, to be trained up under the beſt maſters. Thoſe young men, on their return from their travels, will be forced to neglect their talents, and embrace an inferior ſtation to procure a ſubſiſtence. In all undertakings, much depends upon the firſt ſteps we take; and the firſt ſtep is certainly to encourage mechanic arts, and the lower claſſes of men. If we

we learn to till the ground, to dreſs ſkins, to manufacture our wool, we ſhall ſoon ſee wealthy families ſpring up. From theſe will ariſe children, who, not chuſing to follow the laborious profeſſions of their fathers, will begin to think, to converſe, to write, and to imitate nature; and then we ſhall have philoſophers, orators, poets, painters, and ſtatuaries. Their productions will be ſought after by rich men, and they will purchaſe them. As long as men are in want, they will work, and continue their labour till their wants are ſatisfied. Then they become indolent, and unable to employ their time; and thus the finer arts are in all places the offspring of genius and indolence, for men fly to them when they have no other reſources.

If we attend to the progreſs of ſociety, we ſhall find huſbandmen plundered by robbers; theſe huſbandmen ſelect a few from among themſelves to oppoſe the robbers, and thus they commence ſoldiers. Whilſt ſome are reaping, and the reſt upon guard, ſome perſons looking on ſay to the labourers and ſoldiers, You ſeem to be hard at work; if you that are huſbandmen will feed us, and you that are ſoldiers will defend us, we will beguile your labours with our ſongs and dances. Hence the origin of the troubadour, or bard, and of the man of ſcience. In proceſs of time, the latter is ſometimes joined with the chief againſt the people, and ſings the praiſes of tyranny; ſometimes with the people againſt the tyrant, and then he ſings the praiſes of liberty.

berty. Whichever part he takes, he becomes in time a citizen of conſequence.

Let us attend to the uſual progreſs of nature, and indeed it would be in vain to depart from it. We ſhall find all our efforts ineffectual, and every thing tending to decay around us; we ſhall be nearly in the ſame barbarous ſtate, from which we endeavoured to extricate ourſelves; nor ſhall we be able to effect this, till ſome events occaſion an imperfect police to be eſtabliſhed, whoſe progreſs at moſt can only be accelerated by foreign aſſiſtance. This is all we can reaſonably expect, and we muſt continue to cultivate our land.

In this we ſhall find another advantage, which is, that the arts and ſciences of our own growth will gradually advance towards perfection, and we ſhall be originals; whereas, if we copy foreign models, we ſhall be ignorant of the cauſe of their perfection, and we ſhall never be any thing more than imperfect imitators.

The picture we have here drawn of Ruſſia may be thought to be an improper digreſſion; but, perhaps, this is the time to form a right eſtimate of a power, which, for ſome years paſt, has acted ſo conſpicuous and diſtinguiſhed a part. Let us now enquire into the connections other European nations have formed with China.

Connections of the Europeans with China.

Industry prevails among the Chineſe more than among any other people in the world; perhaps, indeed, it is the only country in which no idle perſon can be found. Though the art of printing

State of that empire with respect to its trade.

printing is known there, and general education carefully attended to, yet the Chineſe cannot ſhew either a capital building or a beautiful ſtatue, or any elegant compoſitions in poetry or proſe; they have no muſic nor painting; nor have they any of that kind of knowledge, which a man of reflection, and even unconnected with ſociety, might by his own induſtry carry to a great degree of perfection. As their cuſtoms allow of no emigration, and as the empire is extremely populous, their labours are confined to the neceſſaries of life. More profit attends the invention of the moſt trifling uſeful art, than is derived from the moſt ſublime diſcovery which is only an exertion of genius. A man, who can turn the cuttings of gauze to ſome uſe, is more eſteemed than one who can ſolve the moſt difficult problem. In this country it is a queſtion ſtill more frequently aſked than among ourſelves, *What is the uſe of this?* The apprehenſion of a ſcarcity fills the mind of every citizen with anxiety: they all exert their utmoſt endeavours, and loſe no time in endeavouring to prevent it. Private intereſt is the ſecret or open ſpring of all the actions of the Chineſe. They muſt therefore neceſſarily be addicted to lying, fraud, and theft; and muſt be mean, ſelfiſh, and covetous.

An European, who buys ſilks at Canton, is cheated in the quantity, quality, and price. The goods are carried on board; where the diſhoneſty of the Chineſe merchant is ſoon detected. When he comes for his money, the European tells him,

Chineſe,

Chineſe, thou haſt cheated me. That may be, replies the Chineſe, but you muſt pay. But, ſays the European, thou art a rogue, a ſcoundrel, a wretch. European, anſwers the Chineſe, that may be, but I muſt be paid. The European pays; the Chineſe takes his money, and ſays at parting, What has thy anger availed thee? what advantage haſt thou obtained by thy abuſe of me? would it not have been much better to have paid at once, and have been ſilent? Wherever men are hardened to inſults, and are not aſhamed of diſhoneſty, the empire may be very well governed, but the morals of the people muſt be very bad.

THIS diſpoſition for gain made the Chineſe renounce the uſe of gold and ſilver coin in their inland trade. They were forced to this by the great increaſe of coiners, and were reduced to the neceſſity of uſing only copper money.

COPPER becoming ſcarce, though hiſtory has not informed us by what means, thoſe ſhells were afterwards brought into uſe, ſo well known by the name of cowries. The government, having obſerved that the people grew diſſatisfied with ſo brittle a commodity in lieu of coin, ordered that all copper veſſels in the empire ſhould be brought to the mint. This ill-judged expedient proving inſufficient to anſwer the demands of the public, about four hundred temples of the god Fo were ordered to be demoliſhed, and all his idols melted down. After this, the court paid the magiſtrates and the army, partly in copper, and partly in paper currency. The people were

ſo exaſperated at theſe dangerous innovations, that the government was obliged to drop them. From that time, which was three hundred years ago, copper coin is the only legal money.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſelf-intereſted diſpoſition of the Chineſe, their foreign connections were for a long time but ſmall. Their reſerved behaviour with other people proceeded from the contempt they had for them. They grew deſirous, however, of frequenting the neighbouring ports; and the Tartar government, leſs ſolicitous to preſerve the antient manners than the former government was, favoured this means of increaſing the wealth of the nation. Voyages were openly undertaken, which before were only tolerated by the intereſted governors of the maritime provinces. A people ſo famed for their wiſdom could not fail of meeting with a favourable reception whereever they went. They took advantage of the high opinion other nations entertained of their taſte, to recommend the commodities they had to diſpoſe of; and their activity exerted itſelf on the continent as well as by ſea.

CHINA at preſent trades with Corea, which is ſuppoſed to have been originally peopled with Tartars. It has certainly often been conquered by them, and has been ſometimes ſubject to, ſometimes independent of, the Chineſe; to whom it now pays tribute. Here they carry china-ware, tea, and ſilks; and in return bring home hemp and cotton, and an ordinary ſort of ginſeng.

THE

THE Tartars, who may be conſidered as foreigners, purchaſe of the Chineſe woollen ſtuffs, rice, tea, and tobacco, for which they give them ſheep, oxen, furs, and chiefly ginſeng. This ſhrub grows only upon the higheſt mountains, in the thickeſt foreſts, and about craggy rocks. The ſtem is ſomewhat hairy, ſtrait, round, and of a deep red, except towards the bottom, where it becomes whitiſh. It grows to the height of about eighteen inches. Towards the top, it throws out branches which bear oblong leaves, that are ſmall, woolly, jagged, of a dark green on the upper ſide, and whitiſh and gloſſy on the back. The age of the ſhrub is known by the ſhoots, and its value increaſes in proportion to its age. The virtues of the ginſeng are many; but it is generally allowed to be a ſtrengthener of the ſtomach, a purifier of the blood. The Chineſe are ſo fond of it, that they never think they can pay too dear for it. The government ſends out ten thouſand Tartar ſoldiers every year to gather this plant; and every one is obliged to bring home two ounces of the beſt ginſeng gratis, and for the reſt they are paid its weight in ſilver. Private perſons are not allowed to gather it. This odious prohibition does not prevent them. If they did not break this unjuſt law, they would not be able to pay for the commodities they buy in the empire, and conſequently muſt ſubmit to the want of them.

WE have already taken notice of the trade of China with the Ruſſians. At preſent it is of little conſequence, but it may and muſt become conſiderable.

THE

THE trade China carries on with the inhabitants of Leſs Bucharia conſiſts only in exchanging its tea, tobacco, and woollen cloth, for the gold duſt theſe people find in their ſtreams when the ſnow begins to melt. If ever thoſe ſavages learn to work the mines that their mountains abound with, their connections, which are now ſo few, will ſoon increaſe, and it is impoſſible to determine how far they may be extended.

THE empire of China is parted from the Mogul dominions, and other parts of India, by ſands, mountains, and rocks, which prevent all communication; their inland trade is, therefore, ſo contracted, that it does not exceed eight or nine millions *. That which they carry on by ſea is more conſiderable.

IT is ſupported by their ſilks, their tea, their china, and ſome articles of leſs conſequence. Japan pays the Chineſe in copper and gold; the Philippine iſlands, with piaſtres; Batavia, with pepper and other ſpices; Siam, with woods for dying, and with varniſh; Tonquin, with ſilk; and Cochinchina, with ſugar and gold. All theſe ſeveral articles together may amount to thirty millions †, and employ a hundred and fifty veſſels. The Chineſe get at leaſt cent. per cent. upon them, of which Cochinchina pays half. Their correſpondents in moſt of the towns they trade with are deſcendants of their own countrymen, who fled from China when the Tartars made themſelves maſters of it.

* On an average, about 372,000l. † 1,312,500l.

THE trade of China, which is not carried on to the north beyond Japan, nor to the eaſt beyond the ſtreights of Malacca and of Sunda, would probably have been extended, if the Chineſe ſhipbuilders had not been ſo wedded to their old cuſtoms, and had condeſcended to receive inſtruction from the Europeans.

WHEN the Europeans firſt appeared upon the coaſts of China, they were admitted equally into all the ports. Their extreme familiarity with the women, their haughtineſs with the men, and repeated acts of inſult and indiſcretion, ſoon deprived them of that privilege; and now they are only ſuffered to put in at Canton, the ſouthernmoſt harbour of the empire.

THE city of Canton is ſituated on the banks of the Tigris, a large river, which on one part communicates with the remoteſt provinces by means of ſeveral canals, and on the other admits the largeſt ſhips to come up to its walls. Formerly the French ſhips were to be ſeen there with the Chineſe veſſels; but now all European ſhips are obliged to anchor at Hoaung-pon, four leagues from the city. It is not clear, whether the Chineſe were induced to take this precaution from the fear of being ſurpriſed, or whether it was a contrivance of men in power for their own private intereſt. The miſtruſtful and rapacious diſpoſition of the Chineſe authoriſes both theſe conjectures.

THIS regulation did not affect the ſailors themſelves; they ſtill enjoyed in Canton all the freedom that is conſiſtent with public tranquillity. They were naturally

naturally inclined to make an improper use of this indulgence, and they soon grew tired of the circumspection which is requisite under a government so much addicted to ceremony. They were punished for their imprudence, and forbidden all access to men in power. The magistrate, wearied out with their perpetual complaints, would no longer hear them but through the channel of interpreters who were dependent on the Chinese merchants. All Europeans were ordered to reside in one particular part of the town, that was allotted to them. None were exempted but such as could procure a person who would be answerable for their good behaviour. The restraints were made still more grievous in 1760. The court, being informed by the English, that trade laboured under great difficulties, sent commissaries from Pekin, who were bribed by the parties accused. Upon the report made by these partial men, all the Europeans were confined in a few houses, where they could only trade with such merchants as had an exclusive privilege. This monopoly has lately been abolished, but the other restraints still continue the same.

These mortifications have not induced us to relinquish the trade to China. We continue to get from thence tea, china, raw silk, manufactured silks, varnish, paper, and some other articles.

The Europeans buy tea at China.

The tea-plant is a shrub about as high as our pomegranate or myrtle. It is propagated by seeds, which are sown in holes three or four inches deep. No part of it is used but the leaves; which it bears in abundance at three years old, but a less

quantity at ſeven. It is then cut down to the ſtem to obtain the ſhoots, every one of which bears nearly as many leaves as a whole ſhrub.

TEA is cultivated in moſt provinces of China, but is not equally good every where; though care is always taken to place it in a ſouthern aſpect and in valleys. The tea that grows in ſtony ground is far preferable to that which grows in a light ſoil, but the worſt ſort is that which is produced in a clayiſh ground.

THE different degree of perfection in tea does not ariſe merely from the difference of ſoil; but chiefly from the ſeaſon in which it is gathered.

THE tea is gathered in March, when the leaves are yet ſmall, tender, and delicate; and this is called imperial tea, becauſe it is chiefly reſerved for the uſe of the court and people of rank. The ſecond time of gathering it is in April; the leaves are then larger and more ſpread, but of leſs quality than the firſt. The laſt and worſt kind of tea is gathered in May. It is all cloſely packed up in cheſts made of a coarſe kind of tin, that the air may not get at it, which would ſpoil its flavour.

TEA is the common drink of the Chineſe; and was not introduced among them through vain caprice. Almoſt throughout the empire, the water is unwholeſome and nauſeous. Of all the methods that were tried to improve it, none ſucceeded ſo well as tea. Upon trial it was thought to be endued with many virtues, and extolled as an excellent diſſolvent, a purifier of the blood, a ſtrengthener of the head and ſtomach, and a promoter of digeſtion and perſpiration.

THE

THE high opinion which the Europeans who firſt went into China conceived of its inhabitants, induced them to adopt the high, though, perhaps, exaggerated opinion the Chineſe had of tea. We caught the enthuſiaſm; and it has gone on increaſing in the North of Europe and America, where the air is thick and loaded with vapours.

WHATEVER may be the influence of prejudice in general, yet it muſt be allowed, that tea produces ſome good effects in thoſe countries where the uſe of it is univerſally adopted: but theſe effects cannot be ſo great any where as in China. We know the Chineſe reſerve the beſt tea for themſelves, and adulterate that intended for exportation, by mixing with it other leaves, which reſemble thoſe of tea in ſhape, but may not have the ſame properties. We know too, that, ſince the exportation has been ſo great, they are not ſo curious in the choice of the ſoil, nor ſo careful in the preparing of it. Our manner of uſing it may likewiſe contribute to leſſen its virtues. We drink it too hot and too ſtrong; we put in a great deal of ſugar, frequently perfumes, and ſometimes pernicious liquors. Beſides all this, its being conveyed ſo far by ſea is alone ſufficient to exhauſt moſt of its ſalubrious ſalts.

WE ſhall never be able to determine exactly the virtues of tea, till it is tranſplanted into our own climates. We began to deſpair of ſucceſs, though the experiments had been only made with ſeed, and of a bad ſort too. At laſt a tree has been brought over, the ſtem of which meaſured ſix inches; and it has been put into the hands of Lin-

næus, the moſt celebrated botaniſt in Europe. He has found means to preſerve it, and thinks he ſhall be able to propagate it in open air, even in Sweden, ſince it thrives in the northern parts of China. It will be a very great advantage to us, if we can cultivate a plant, which can never ſuffer ſo much by change of ſoil, as by growing muſty in the long voyage it muſt undergo in being brought from abroad. It is not long ſince we had as little proſpect of attaining to the art of making porcelain.

The Europeans buy porcelain in China.

SOME years ago there were in the collection of Count Caylus two or three little fragments of a vaſe ſuppoſed to be Egyptian, which being carefully analyſed proved to be unglazed porcelain. If that learned man is not miſtaken, or has not been miſinformed, the making of porcelain was known in the flouriſhing days of ancient Egypt. But, without ſome more authentic monuments than the allegation of a ſingle fact, we muſt not deprive China of this invention, where the art has been known for a longer time than we can trace.

EGYPT is ſuppoſed by many to have the preeminence in point of antiquity, both in regard to its foundation, and to laws, ſciences, and arts, in general, though perhaps China may have as good a claim. Nor can it be certainly determined, whether theſe two empires are not equally ancient, and have not received all their ſocial inſtitutions from a people inhabiting the vaſt region that divides them? Whether the ſavage inhabitants of the great mountains of Aſia, after wandering about for many ages on the continent that forms the center

of our hemiſphere, have not inſenſibly diſperſed themſelves towards the coaſts of the ſeas that ſurround it, and formed themſelves into ſeparate nations in China, India, Perſia, and Egypt? Whether the ſucceſſive floods, which may have happened in that part of the world, may not have incloſed and confined them to thoſe regions full of mountains and deſerts? Theſe conjectures are not foreign to the hiſtory of commerce, which in future times muſt greatly tend to illuſtrate the general hiſtory of the human race, of the ſeveral ſettlements they have formed, of their opinions, and inventions of every kind.

THE art of making porcelain is, if not one of the moſt wonderful, at leaſt one of the moſt pleaſing that men have ever diſcovered; it is the neatneſs of luxury, which is preferable to its magnificence.

PORCELAIN is an earthen ware of the moſt perfect kind. It varies in colour, texture, and tranſparency. Tranſparency, indeed, is not eſſential to it, for there is a great deal of very fine porcelain which has not this quality.

IT is uſually covered with white or coloured varniſh. This varniſh is merely a layer of melted glaſs, which muſt never be completely tranſparent. This is ſtiled glazed porcelain, and is properly what we call china; the unglazed is diſtinguiſhed by the name of porcelain biſcuit. This is intrinſically as good as the other, but is neither ſo elegant, ſo bright, nor ſo beautiful.

THE word earthen-ware is well adapted to porcelain, becauſe, as all other earthen ware, the ſubſtance of it is pure earth, without any alteration from art but the mere diviſion of its parts. No metallic or ſaline ſubſtance whatever muſt enter into its compoſition, not even in the glazing, which muſt be made of ſubſtances nearly, if not altogether, as ſimple.

THE beſt porcelain, and commonly the cloſeſt, is that which is made of the ſimpleſt materials, ſuch as a vitrifiable ſtone, and a pure and white clay. On this laſt ſubſtance depend the cloſeneſs and compactneſs of porcelain, and indeed of earthen-ware in general.

THE connoiſſeurs divide the china that comes from Aſia into ſix claſſes; the trouted china, the old white, the Japan, the Chineſe, the Chineſe japan, and the Indian. Theſe ſeveral appellations rather denote a difference that ſtrikes the eye than a real diſtinction.

The trouted china, which no doubt is called ſo from the reſemblance it bears to the ſcales of a trout, ſeems to be the moſt ancient, and favours moſt of the infancy of the art. It has two imperfections. The paſte is always very brown, and the ſurface appears full of cracks. Theſe cracks are not only in the glazing, but in the porcelain itſelf; and therefore this ſort has but a ſmall degree of tranſparency, does not ſound well, is very brittle, and bears the fire better than any other. To hide theſe cracks, it is painted with a variety of colours: in this kind of ornament conſiſts its only value. The facility with which Count Lauragais has imitated

imitated it has convinced us that it is only an imperfect ſort of porcelain.

The old white is certainly very beautiful, whether we conſider only the glazing, or examine the biſcuit. This is very valuable porcelain, but very ſcarce, and but little uſed. The paſte of it ſeems to be extremely ſhort, and fit only for ſmall vaſes, figures, and other ornamental china. It is ſold in trade for japan, though it is certain that ſome very fine of the ſame kind is made in China. It is of two different hues; the one a perfect cream-colour, the other a blueiſh white, which makes it look more tranſparant. The glazing ſeems to be more incorporated into this laſt. This ſort has been attempted at St. Cloud, and ſome pieces have been produced that looked very beautiful; but thoſe who have narrowly examined them have ſaid they were no better than frit or lead, and would not bear a compariſon.

The japan is not ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed as moſt people imagine from the fineſt of the ſort made in China. A connoiſſeur, whom we have conſulted, pretends that in general the glazing of the true japan is whiter, and has leſs of the blueiſh caſt, than the porcelain of China, that the ornaments are laid on with leſs profuſion, that the blue is brighter, and the patterns and flowers not ſo whimſical, and better copied from nature. His opinion ſeems to be confirmed by the teſtimony of ſome writers, who tell us, that the Chineſe who trade to Japan bring home ſome pieces of china that make more ſhew than their own, but are not ſo ſolid; and that they

ſerve

ſerve to ornament their apartments, but they never uſe them, becauſe they will not bear the fire well. All china glazed with coloured varniſh, whether ſea-green, blueiſh, or purple, he believes to be Chineſe. All the japan brought into Europe comes from the Dutch, who are the only Europeans that are ſuffered to come into that empire. Poſſibly they may have picked it out of the porcelains brought hither every year by the Chineſe, or they may have purchaſed it at Canton. In either caſe, the diſtinction between the porcelain of Japan and that of China would not be founded on fact, but merely on prejudice. From this opinion it is plain, that what is ſold here for japan is very fine china.

THERE is leſs doubt about what we call porcelain of China. The glazing has a bluer caſt than that of Japan, it is more highly coloured, and the patterns are more whimſical. The paſte is in general whiter and more compact; the grain finer and cloſer, and the china thinner. Amongſt the ſeveral ſorts made in China, there is one that is very antient; it is painted of a deep blue, a beautiful red, or a green like verdigreaſe, and is very coarſe, very thick, and very heavy. Some of this is trouted, and the grain is often dry and brown. That which is not trouted has a clear ſound, but both want tranſparency. It is ſold for old china, and the fineſt pieces are ſuppoſed to come from Japan. It was originally a better ſort of earthen-ware, rather than a true porcelain; time and experience may have improved it. It is grown more tranſparent, and the colours being more carefully laid on, they look brighter.

brighter. The eſſential difference between this and other china is, that this is made of a ſhorter paſte, and is very hard and ſolid. The pieces of this china have always at the bottom the marks of three or four ſupporters, which were put to prevent its giving way in baking. By this contrivance, the Chineſe have ſucceeded in making very large pieces of porcelain. Thoſe that are not of this ſort, and which is called modern china, are of a longer paſte and finer grain, and are higher glazed, whiter, and clearer. They ſeldom have the marks of the ſupporters, and their tranſparency has nothing glaſſy in it. All that is made with this paſte is eaſily turned, ſo that it is viſible the workman's hand is glided over it, as over a fine ſmooth clay. There is an infinite variety of this ſort of china, both as to form, colouring, workmanſhip, and price.

A FIFTH ſort is what we call chineſe japan, becauſe it unites the ornaments of the porcelain which is thought to come from Japan with thoſe that are more in the Chineſe taſte. Among this kind of porcelain, there is ſome that is ornamented with a very fine blue, with white ſcrolls. The glazing of this kind is remarkable for being a true white enamel, whereas that of the other ſorts is half tranſparent; for the Chineſe glazing is never entirely ſo.

THE colours in general are laid on in the ſame manner, both on the true china and the imitations of it. The firſt and moſt laſting of them is the blue that is extracted from ſmalt, which is nothing more than the calx of cobalt. This colour is commonly laid on before the pieces are either glazed

or

or baked, so that the glazing that is put on afterwards serves as a dissolvent. All the other colours, and even the blue that enters into the composition on the pallet, are laid on over the glazing, and must first be mixed up and ground with a saline substance or calx of lead, that favours their ingress into the glazing. It is a pretty common thing for the Chinese to colour the whole of the glazing; the colour is then laid on neither above nor below it, but is incorporated into the glazing itself. Some very extraordinary fanciful ornaments are made in this manner. In whatever way the colours are applied, they are commonly extracted from cobalt, gold, iron, mineral earths, and copper. That which is extracted from copper is a very delicate colour, and requires great care in the preparation.

All the sorts of porcelain we have described are made at King-to-chin, an immense town in the province of Kiamsi. This manufacture employs five hundred furnaces and a million of men. It has been attempted to be made at Pekin and other places of the empire; but it has not succeeded any where, though the same workmen have been employed, and the same materials made use of; so that this branch of industry is entirely given up, except in the neighbourhood of Canton, where the sort of porcelain is made that is known amongst us by the name of India china. The paste is long and yielding; but in general the colours, especially the blue, and the red of mars, are far inferior to what comes from Japan and the interior parts of China. All the colours, except the

the blue, ſtand up in lumps, and are very badly laid on. This is the only china that has purple, which has given riſe to that abſurd notion of its being painted in Holland. Moſt of the cups, and plates, and other veſſels, our merchants bring home, are of this manufacture, which is leſs eſteemed in China than our delft is in Europe.

Attempts have been made to introduce this art into Europe. It has ſucceeded beſt in Saxony. The porcelain that comes from this country is real porcelain, and probably made with very ſimple materials, though prepared and mixed with more art than in Aſia. This curious preparation, together with the ſcarcity of the materials, is no doubt what makes the Dreſden porcelain ſo dear. As there is but one ſort of paſte that comes from that manufacture, it has been ſurmiſed, and not without ſome degree of probability, that the Saxons were only in poſſeſſion of their own ſecret, and by no means of the art of making china. What ſeems to confirm this ſuſpicion is the great affinity between the Saxon and other German porcelain, which ſeems to be made upon the ſame principle.

However this be, it is certain no porcelain is higher glazed, ſmoother, better ſhaped, more pleaſing to the eye, or more ſolid and durable. It will reſiſt a fierce fire much longer than many of the ſorts made in China. The colours are finely diſpoſed, and executed in a maſterly manner; none are ſo well adapted to the glazing; they are blended with great exactneſs; they are bright, without being

being ſhaded and glazed, like thoſe of moſt of the porcelain made at Sevre.

The mention of this place reminds us that we muſt take notice of the porcelain made in France. This, like the Engliſh, is only made with frit; that is, with ſtones that are not fuſible in themſelves, but receive a beginning of fuſion from the mixture of a greater or leſs quantity of ſalt; and accordingly it is more glaſſy, of a looſer texture, and more brittle than any other. That of Sevre, which is by far the worſt of all, and always looks yellowiſh and dirty, which betrays the lead they put into the glazing, has no other merit than what it derives from the excellence of the artiſts that are employed for the patterns and the penciling. Theſe great maſters have diſplayed ſo much taſte in the execution of ſome of the pieces, that they will be the admiration of poſterity; but in itſelf this ware will never be but an object of taſte, luxury, and expence. The ſupporters will always be a principal cauſe of its dearneſs.

All porcelain, when it receives the laſt effect of the fire, is actually in a ſtate that has a tendency to fuſion, is ſoft and pliable, and might be worked like red-hot iron. There is none but what will bend and give way when it is in that ſtate. If the pieces, when they are turned, are thicker, or project more on one ſide than another, the ſtrongeſt will infallibly bear away the weakeſt; they will warp to that ſide, and the piece is ſpoiled. This inconvenience is prevented, by propping it up with bits of porcelain made of the ſame paſte, of different ſhapes, which are applied under or to the parts that

that project, and are moſt in danger of being warped. As all porcelain ſhrinks in baking, the props muſt alſo be made of ſuch materials as will yield in the ſame degree exactly as the paſte they are intended to ſupport. As the different paſtes do not ſhrink equally, it follows that the props muſt be made of the ſame paſte as the piece they ſupport.

The ſofter the china is, and the more inclining to vitrification, the more it wants to be propped up. This is the great fault of the Sevre china; the paſte is very coſtly, and frequently more of it is waſted in props, than is employed in making of the piece itſelf. The neceſſity of this expenſive method produces another inconvenience. The glazing cannot be baked at the ſame time as the porcelain, which therefore muſt twice undergo the heat of the furnace. The porcelain made in China, and the beſt imitations of it, being of a ſtiffer paſte, and leſs ſuſceptible of vitrification, ſeldom want any props, and are baked ready-glazed. They conſequently conſume much leſs paſte, are ſeldom ſpoiled, and require leſs time, as well as leſs fire and trouble.

Some writers have urged, in favour of the ſuperiority of Aſiatic china, that it reſiſts fire better than ours; that all European china will melt in that of Saxony, but that the Dreſden itſelf will melt in the foreign china. This aſſertion is entirely erroneous, if taken in its full extent. Few porcelains of china will ſtand the fire ſo well as the Dreſden; they ſpoil and bubble in the ſame degree of fire which ſerves to bake that made by Count

Count Lauragais; but this is a circumſtance of ſo little conſequence, that it ſcarce deſerves attention. Porcelain is not intended to return into the furnace when once it is taken out, nor is it deſigned to bear the action of an intenſe fire.

It is in point of ſolidity that the foreign porcelain truly excels that of Europe; it is by the property it has of heating quicker and with leſs riſque, and of bearing, without danger of being broken, the ſudden effect of cold or boiling hot water; by the facility with which it is moulded and baked, which is an ineſtimable advantage, as pieces of all ſizes can be made with great eaſe, as it can be baked without any riſque, be ſold at a lower price, be of more general uſe, and conſequently become the object of a more extenſive trade.

Another great advantage of the India porcelain is, that the ſame paſte is very uſeful for making crucibles, and a variety of ſuch veſſels which are conſtantly uſed in the other arts. They not only bear the fire for a longer time, but communicate nothing of their ſubſtance to what is melted in them. This ſubſtance is ſo pure, white, compact, and hard, that it will ſcare melt at all, and acquires no kind of tinge.

France is at the eve of enjoying all theſe advantages. It is certain that Count Lauragais, who has long been in ſearch of the ſecret of the Chineſe, has at laſt made ſome china that is very like it. His materials have the ſame properties, and if they are not exactly the ſame, at leaſt they are a ſpecies of the ſame kind. Like the Chineſe, he can make his paſte long or ſhort, and follow either

ther his own or ſome other proceſs. His porcelain is not inferior to that of the Chineſe in point of pliableneſs, and is ſuperior to it in point of glazing; perhaps too in the facility with which it takes the colours. If it can be improved to ſuch a degree as to have as fine and as white a grain, we may diſpenſe with the porcelain of China. But we cannot ſo well do without their ſilk.

The Europeans buy ſilks in China.

THE annals of this empire aſcribe the diſcovery of ſilk to one of the wives of the emperor Hoangti. The empreſſes amuſed themſelves with breeding up ſilk-worms, drawing the ſilk, and working it. It is even ſaid, that to the interior part of the palace there was a piece of ground ſet apart for the culture of mulberry-trees. The empreſs, attended by the chief ladies of her court, went in perſon and gathered the leaves of ſome of the branches that were brought down ſo as to be within her reach. So prudent an inſtance of policy promoted this branch of induſtry to ſuch a degree, that the Chineſe, who before were only cloathed in ſkins, ſoon appeared dreſſed in ſilk. The ſilks, that were now grown very common, were ſoon brought to great perfection. The Chineſe were indebted for this laſt advantage to the writings of ſome ingenious men, and even of ſome miniſters, who did not think it beneath them to attend to this new art. All China learnt from their theory every thing belonging to it.

THE art of breeding up ſilk-worms, and of ſpinning and weaving their ſilk, extended from China to India and Perſia, where it made no very rapid progreſs; if it had, Rome would not, at the end

of the third century, have given a pound of gold for a pound of silk. Greece having adopted this art in the eighth century, silks became a little more known, but did not grow common. They were long considered as an article of luxury, and reserved for persons in the most eminent stations, and for the greatest solemnities. At last Roger, king of Sicily, sent for manufacturers from Athens; and the culture of the mulberry-tree soon passed from that island to the neighbouring continent. Other countries in Europe wished to partake of an advantage from which Italy derived so much wealth; and after some fruitless attempts they attained it. However, from the nature of the climate, or some other cause, it has not equally succeeded in every place.

The silks of Naples, Sicily, and Reggio, whether in organzin or in tram, are all ordinary silks; but they are useful, and even necessary for brocades, for embroidery, and for all works that require strong silk.

The other Italian silks, those of Novi, Venice, Tuscany, Milan, Montserrat, Bergamo, and Piedmont, are used in organzin for the warp, though they are not all equally fine and good. The Bologna silks were for a long time preferred to any other. But since those of Piedmont have been improved, they justly claim the preference, as being the smoothest, the finest, and the lightest. Those of Bergamo come nearest to them.

Though the Spanish silks in general are very fine, those of Valencia are by far the best. They are all fit for any sort of manufacture; the only fault

fault they have, is being rather too oily, which is a great detriment to the dye.

The French ſilks excell moſt others in Europe, and are inferior to none but thoſe of Piedmont and Bergamo in point of lightneſs. Beſides, they are brighter coloured than thoſe of Piedmont; and more even and ſtronger than thoſe of Bergamo. Some years ago, France produced ſix thouſand quintals of ſilk, which ſold from fifteen to twenty-one livres * a pound, conſiſting of fourteen ounces. At an average of eighteen livres †, it produced an income of ten millions ‡. When the new plantations are improved ſo much as to produce what is expected from them, France will be eaſed of the ſum ſhe pays to foreign powers for this article, which is ſtill a conſiderable one.

The variety of ſilk produced in Europe has not yet enabled us to diſpenſe with that of the Chineſe. Though in general it is uneven and heavy, it will always be in requeſt for its whiteneſs. It is generally thought to derive this advantage from nature; but it is more probable, that, when the Chineſe draw the ſilk, they put ſome ingredient into the baſon, that has the property of expelling all heterogeneous ſubſtances, or at leaſt the coarſeſt parts of them. The little waſte there is in this ſilk compared to any other, when it is boiled for dying, ſeems to give great weight to this conjecture.

However this be, the Chineſe ſilk is ſo far ſuperior to any other in whiteneſs, that it is the only one which can be uſed for blondes and gauzes:

* From about 13 s. to about 18 s. 6 d. † 15 s. 9 d. ‡ 437,500 l.

all our endeavours to ſubſtitute our own in the blonde manufactures have been fruitleſs, whether we have made uſe of prepared or unprepared ſilk. The attempts in gauze have not been quite ſo unſucceſsful. The whiteſt French and Italian ſilks have been tried, and ſeemed to anſwer tolerably well; but neither the colour nor the dreſſing were ſo perfect as in the gauzes made with the Chineſe ſilk.

In the laſt century, the Europeans imported very little ſilk from China. The French ſilk ſucceeded very well for black and coloured gauze, and for cat-gut that was then in faſhion. The taſte, that has prevailed theſe forty years paſt, and more eſpecially the laſt twenty-five, for white gauzes and blondes, has gradually increaſed the demand for this production of the Eaſt. Of late it has amounted to eighty thouſand weight a-year, of which France has always taken near three-fourths. This importation has increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in 1766 the Engliſh alone imported a hundred and four thouſand weight: as it could not be all conſumed in gauze and blonde, the manufacturers have uſed it for tabbies and hoſe. The ſtockings made of this ſilk are of a beautiful white that never changes, but are not near ſo fine as others.

Besides this ſilk, ſo remarkable for its whiteneſs, which comes chiefly from the province of Tche-Kiang, and is known in Europe by the name of Nanking-ſilk, which is the place where moſt of it is prepared, China produces ordinary ſilks, which we call Canton. As theſe are only fit for ſome kinds of tram, and are as dear as our own,

own, which anſwer the ſame purpoſe, very few are imported. What the Engliſh and Dutch bring home does not exceed five or ſix thouſand pieces. The manufactured ſilks are a much more conſiderable article.

THE Chineſe are not leſs ingenious in weaving their ſilks than in preparing them. This does not extend to thoſe that are mixed with gold and ſilver. Their manufacturers have never known how to draw out theſe metals into thread, and the whole of their art conſiſts in rolling their ſilks upon gilt paper, or putting the paper upon them after they are woven. Both methods are equally bad.

THOUGH, in general, men are more apt to be pleaſed with novelty than with true excellence, yet the Europeans have never been tempted to buy theſe ſtuffs. They have been equally diſguſted at the aukwardneſs of the patterns, which exhibit nothing but diſtorted figures, and unmeaning groupes; they diſcover no taſte in the diſpoſition of the lights and ſhades, nor any of that elegance and eaſe that appears in the works of our good artiſts. There is a ſtiffneſs and a want of freedom in all they do, that is diſpleaſing to perſons of any taſte; all ſavours of their particular turn of mind, which is deſtitute of vivacity and elevation.

THE only thing that makes us overlook the defects in thoſe works that repreſent flowers, birds, or trees, is, that none of thoſe objects are raiſed. The figures are painted upon the ſilk itſelf with indelible colours; and yet the deception is ſo per-

fact, that all these objects appear to be brocaded or embroidered.

As for their plain silks, they want no recommendation, for they are perfect in their kind; and so are their colours, especially the green and the red. The white of their damasks has something extremely pleasing. The Chinese make them only with the silk of Tche-Kiang. They thoroughly boil the warp, as we do, but only half-boil the woof. This method gives the damask more substance and stiffness. It has a reddish cast without being yellow, which is very pleasing, and has not that glare that dazzles the sight. This agreeable white is likewise observed in the Chinese varnish.

The Europeans buy lacquered ware, and paper, in China.

This varnish is a kind of liquid gum, of a reddish colour. The Japan varnish is preferable to that of Tonquin and Siam, and these are much better than that of Cambodia. The Chinese buy it at all these markets, because from their provinces they cannot procure a sufficient quantity for their own consumption. The tree that yields the gum from which the varnish is made is called Tsi-chu, and resembles the ash, both in the bark and the leaf. It never grows above fifteen feet, and the stem commonly measures two feet and a half in circumference. It bears neither flowers nor fruit, but is propagated in the following manner.

In the spring, when the sap of the Tsi-chu begins to form, the strongest shoot that grows out of the stem is chosen, and covered all over with yellow earth; then it is wrapped round with a

mat, to protect it from the effect of the air. If the sprig soon takes root, it is cut and planted in autumn; but if it proves backward, this is deferred to another opportunity. At whatever season it is done, the young plant must be preserved from the ants, which is effected by filling the hole with ashes.

The Tsi-chu yields no varnish till it is seven or eight years old, and then only in summer. It distils from incisions made at different distances in the bark, and is received in a shell fixed at each incision. It is reckoned a good produce, when twenty pounds of varnish are collected in one night out of a thousand trees. This gum is so noxious, that those who use it are obliged to take constant precautions to guard against its malignancy. The artists rub their hands and faces with rape oil before they begin, and after they have done their work, and wear a mask, gloves, boots, and a breast-plate.

There are two ways of using the varnish. The first is to rub the wood with a particular sort of oil used in China; and as soon as it is dry, the varnish is laid on. It is so transparent, that the veins of the wood appear tinged through it, if it is laid on but two or three times. If it is repeatedly laid on, it may be brought to shine like a looking-glass. The other way is more complicated. A kind of paste-board is glued by the help of mastick over the wood. On this smooth and solid ground are spread several layers of varnish. It must be neither too thick nor too liquid; and in

this juſt medium the ſkill of the artiſt principally conſiſts.

WHICHEVER way the varniſh is laid on, it effectually preſerves the wood from decaying. The worm can ſcarce penetrate it, and the damp does not affect it in the leaſt; and with a little care this varniſh leaves no ſmell behind.

THIS varniſh is as pleaſing to the eye as it is durable. It may be applied on gold and ſilver, and mixed with all ſorts of colours. Upon it are painted figures, landſcapes, palaces, hunting parties, and battles. In ſhort, it would not be deficient in any reſpect, if it were not generally ſpoiled by the badneſs of the Chineſe drawing.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defect, the making of this ware requires much pains and conſtant attention. The varniſh muſt be laid on nine or ten times at leaſt, and cannot be ſpread too thin. There muſt be a ſufficint time allowed between the application of each layer, that it may be ſuffered to dry. A longer time ſtill muſt be allowed between the laſt layer and the poliſhing, painting, and gilding. A whole ſummer is hardly ſufficient for all this proceſs at Nanking, from whence the court and the chief cities of the empire are ſupplied. It is carried on with greater expedition at Canton. As there is a great demand of this ware for Europe, and as the Europeans will have it made according to their own plan, and will allow but a ſhort time to complete it, it is uſually finiſhed in too great haſte. The artiſt, not having time to give the neceſſary degree of perfection to his work, is ſatisfied if he can but make it pleaſing

to

to the eye. The Chineſe manufacture of paper is not liable to the ſame imperfections.

ORIGINALLY the Chineſe wrote with a ſteel bodkin upon wooden tablets, which, being faſtened together, made a volume. They afterwards traced their characters upon pieces of ſilk or linen, cut to any length or breadth. At laſt, about ſixteen hundred years ago, they found out the ſecret of making paper.

IT is generally imagined that this paper is made with ſilk; but whoever is acquainted with the practice of the art muſt know, that ſilk can never be ſo divided as to be wrought into a paſte of equal conſiſtence. The beſt Chineſe paper is made with cotton, and would be equal, if not preferable, to ours, if it were as durable.

THE ordinary paper, which is not intended for writing, is made of the firſt or ſecond bark of the mulberry-tree, the elm, the cotton-tree, but chiefly of the bamboo. Theſe ſubſtances, after they are become rotten by ſoaking in muddy water, are buried in lime; then bleached in the ſun, and boiled in coppers to a fluid paſte, which is ſpread upon hurdles, and hardens into ſheets, that meaſure ten or twelve feet, or more. This is the paper uſed by the Chineſe for furniture. It has a very pleaſing effect from the luſtre they give it, and from the variety of ſhapes into which they form it.

THOUGH this paper is apt to crack, to be injured by damps, and to be worm-eaten, it is become an article of trade. Europe has borrowed from Aſia the idea of furniſhing cloſets and making ſcreens

ſcreens with it; but that taſte begins to decline. The Chineſe paper is already diſcarded for that of the Engliſh, the uſe of which will certainly be continued when it has attained a greater degree of perfection. The French begin to imitate this novelty; and in all probability it will be univerſally adopted.

Besides the articles already mentioned, the Europeans bring from China ink, camphire, borax, rhubarb, gum-lac, and rattans, a kind of cane that ſerves to make elbow-chairs; and formerly they brought gold from thence.

In Europe a mark of gold is worth about fourteen marks and a half of ſilver. If there were a country in which it was worth twenty, our merchants would carry gold thither to change it for ſilver. They would bring us back that ſilver, to receive gold in exchange, which they would again carry abroad for the ſame purpoſe. This trade would be continued in this manner till the relative value of the two metals came to be much the ſame in both countries. It was upon this principle, that for a long time ſilver was ſent to China, to be bartered for gold; by which traffic a profit of 45 per cent. was made. It was never carried on by the charter companies; becauſe the profit they made upon it, however conſiderable it may appear, was yet much inferior to that obtained upon their own merchandiſe. Their agents, who were not indulged in chuſing what trade they pleaſed, attended to theſe ſpeculations for their own advantage. They purſued this branch of commerce with ſo much aſſiduity, that in a ſhort time the returns

turns were not sufficient to induce them to continue it. Gold is of greater or less value at Canton, according to the season of the year; its value is higher from the beginning of February to the end of May than through the rest of the year, when the harbour is full of foreign ships. Yet in the most favourable season no more than eighteen per cent. is to be made of it, which is not a sufficient inducement for any one to undertake it. The only agents, who have not been sufferers by the cessation of this trade, are those of the French company, who were never allowed to be concerned in it. The directors reserved that profit for themselves. Many attempted it; but Castanier was the only one who carried on the trade with abilities and success. He sent goods to Mexico; these were sold for piastres, which were carried to Acapulco, then to the Philippines, and from thence to China, where they were bartered for gold. That able man by this judicious circulation had opened a track, which it is surprising that no one has since pursued.

All the European nations, which sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope, go as far as China. The Portuguese were the first who landed there. The Chinese gave them the town of Macao, which was built upon a barren and rugged spot, on the point of a little island at the mouth of the river Canton, and with it a territory of about three miles in circumference. They obtained the freedom of the harbour, which is too narrow, but safe and commodious,

modious, upon the condition of paying to the empire all the duties to be levied on the ſhips that ſhould come in; and they purchaſed the liberty of building fortifications, by engaging to pay a yearly tribute of 37,500 livres *. As long as the court of Liſbon maintained the ſovereignty of the Indian ſeas, this place was a famous mart. It declined in proportion to the power of the Portugueſe, and gradually came to nothing. Macao has no longer any connection with the mother country, and fits out no more than three ſmall veſſels, one for Timor, and two for Goa. Till 1744, the remains of that once flouriſhing ſettlement ſtill enjoyed ſome kind of independence. The murder of a Chineſe determined the viceroy of Canton to apply to his court for a magiſtrate to inſtruct and govern the barbarians of Macao; theſe were the words of his petition. The court ſent a Mandarin, who took poſſeſſion of the town in the name of his maſter. He ſcorned to live among foreigners, who are always held in great contempt, and fixed his reſidence at the diſtance of a league from the town.

The Dutch met with worſe contempt about a century ago. Thoſe republicans, who, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority they had gained in the Aſiatic ſeas, had been excluded from China by the intrigues of the Portugueſe, at laſt got acceſs to the ports of that empire. Not content with the precarious footing they had obtained there, they

* 1640l. 12s. 6d.

attempted

attempted to erect a fort near Hoaungpon, under pretence of building a warehouſe. It is ſaid, their deſign was to make themſelves maſters of the navigation of the Tigris, and to give law both to the Chineſe and to foreigners who were deſirous of trading to Canton. Their views were diſcovered too ſoon for their intereſt. They were all maſſacred; and it was a great while before any of their nation could venture to appear again upon the coaſts of China. They were ſeen there again about the year 1730. The firſt ſhips that arrived there came from Java. They brought various commodities of the growth of India in general, and of their own colonies in particular, and bartered them for thoſe of the country. The commanders of theſe veſſels, wholly intent upon pleaſing the council of Batavia, from which they immediately received their orders, and expected their promotion, had nothing in view but to diſpoſe of the merchandiſe they were intruſted with, without attending to the quality of that they received in return. The company ſoon found, that in conſequence of this proceeding they never could ſupport themſelves againſt their competitors. This conſideration determined them to ſend ſhips directly from Europe with money. They touch at Batavia, where they take in ſuch commodities of the country as are fit for China, and return directly into our latitudes, with much better ladings than formerly, but not ſo good as thoſe of the Engliſh.

Of all the nations that have traded to China, the Engliſh have been the moſt conſtant. They had

had a factory in the island of Chusan, at the time when affairs were chiefly transacted at Emouy. When it was removed to Canton, this factory still continued as before. As their company were required to export woollen cloths, they determined to keep agents constantly at this place to dispose of them. This custom of the English, joined to the great demand for tea in their settlements, made them, towards the end of the last century, masters of almost all the trade carried on between China and Europe. The heavy duties, laid by the British government on that foreign production, at last made other nations, and France in particular, sensible of the advantages of this commerce.

France had formerly a particular company for the trade of China in 1660. A rich merchant of Rouen, named Fermanel, was at the head of the undertaking. He had computed that it could not be well carried on with less than a capital of 220,000 livres *, and the subscriptions amounting only to 140,000 †, occasioned the ill success of the voyage. The aversion, naturally entertained for a people who believed that foreigners came among them for no other purpose than to corrupt their morals, and to deprive them of their liberty, was considerably increased by the losses that were sustained. In vain, towards the year 1685, did the Chinese alter their opinion, and consequently their behaviour. The French seldom frequent their ports. The new society formed in 1698, was not

* 9,625l. † 6,125l.

more

more active than the former; nor did they succeed in this trade, till it came to be united with that of India, and equally divided.

THE Danes and the Swedes began to frequent the ports of China about the same time, and have acted upon the same principle as the French. The Embden company would probably have adopted it likewise, had it subsisted long enough.

Sums laid out in purchases by the Europeans in China.

THE annual purchases made by the Europeans in China, if we compute them by those of the year 1766, amount to 26,754,494 livres *; this sum, above four-fifths of which is laid out on the single article of tea, has been paid in piastres, or in goods carried by twenty-three ships. Sweden has furnished 1,935,168 livres † in money, and 427,500 ‡ in tin, lead, and other commodities. Denmark, 2,161,630 livres § in money, and 231,000 ‖ in iron, lead, and gun-flints. France, 4,000,000 ** in money, and 400,000 †† in drapery. Holland, 2,735,400 ‡‡ in money, and 44,600 §§ in woollen goods, besides 4,000,150 ‖‖ in the produce of her colonies. Great Britain, 5,443,566 livres *** in money, 2,000,475 ††† in woollen cloths, and 3,375,000 ‡‡‡ in various articles from different parts of India. All these sums together amount to 26,754,494 livres §§§. We do not include in this calculation 10,000,000 ‖‖‖

* About 1,170,500l.
† 84,663l. 12s.
‡ 18,703l. 2s. 6d.
§ 94,571l. 6s. 3d.
‖ 10,106l. 5s.
** 175,000l.
†† 17,500l.
‡‡ 119,673l. 15s.
§§ 1,951l. 5s.
‖‖ 175,006l. 11s. 3d.
*** About 238,000l.
††† Above 87,500l.
‡‡‡ Above 147,600l.
§§§ About 1,170,500l.
‖‖‖ 437,500l.

in

in ſpecie, which the Engliſh have carried over and above what we have mentioned, becauſe they were deſtined to pay off the debts that nation had contracted, or to lay in a ſtock to trade upon the intervals between the voyages.

Conjectures concerning the future ſtate of the trade of Europe in China.

It is not eaſy to conjecture what this trade will hereafter be. Though the Chineſe are ſo fond of money, they ſeem more inclined to ſhut their ports againſt the Europeans, than to encourage them to enlarge their trade. As the ſpirit of the Tartars has ſubſided, and the conquerors have imbibed the maxims of the vanquiſhed nation, they have adopted their prejudices, and in particular their averſion and contempt of foreigners. They have diſcovered theſe diſpoſitions, by the humiliating hardſhips they have impoſed upon them, after having treated them with great reſpect. The tranſition is but ſhort from this precarious ſituation to a total expulſion. It may not be far off; and this is the more likely, as there is an active nation who, perhaps, is ſecretly contriving to effect it.

The Dutch are not ignorant that all Europe is grown very fond of ſeveral Chineſe productions. They may readily ſuppoſe, that the impoſſibility of procuring them from the firſt hand would not hinder the conſumption. If all Europeans were excluded from China, the natives would export their own commodities. As their ſhipping is not fit for a long navigation, they would be under a neceſſity of carrying them to Java or to the Philippines, and then we muſt buy

them of one of the two nations, to whom these colonies belong. The competition of the Spaniards is so inconsiderable, that the Dutch might be certain of engrossing the whole trade. It is hardly possible to suspect these republicans of any thing so base, but it is well known they have been guilty of greater villanies for interests of less consequence.

If the ports of China were once shut, it is probable they would be so for ever. The obstinacy of that nation would never suffer them to retract, and there is no appearance that they could be compelled to it. What measures could be taken against a state at the distance of eight thousand leagues? No government can be so absurd as to imagine, that men, after the fatigues of so long a voyage, would venture to attempt conquests in a country defended by such a number of people, however destitute of courage this nation, which has never tried its strength against the Europeans, may be supposed to be. The only way in which we could distress these people, would be by intercepting their navigation, which is an object they pay little attention to, as it neither affects their subsistence nor their conveniences.

Even this fruitless revenge would be practicable but for a short time. The ships employed in this piratical cruise would be driven from those latitudes one part of the year by the monsoons, and the other part by the storms they call typhons, which are peculiar to the seas of China.

Having thus explained the manner in which the Europeans have hitherto carried on the East

India trade, it will not be improper to examine three queſtions, which naturally ariſe upon the ſubject, and have not yet been decided. 1. Whether it is adviſeable to continue that trade. 2. Whether large ſettlements are neceſſary to carry it on with ſucceſs. 3. Whether it ought to be left in the hands of charter companies. We ſhall diſcuſs theſe points with impartiality, as we have no other concern in the cauſe, but the intereſt of mankind.

Whether Europe ſhould continue its trade with India.

WHOEVER conſiders Europe as forming but one body, the members of which are united in one common intereſt, or at leaſt in the ſame kind of intereſt, will not heſitate to pronounce, whether her connections with Aſia are advantageous or not. The India trade evidently enlarges the circle of our enjoyments. It procures us wholeſome and agreeable liquors, conveniences of a more refined nature, more ſplendid furniture, ſome new pleaſures, and a more comfortable exiſtence. Such powerful incentives have had the ſame influence upon thoſe nations, who, from their ſituation, activity, good fortune in making diſcoveries, and boldneſs in enterprizes, can procure theſe enjoyments for themſelves at their very ſource; as upon thoſe who are unable to acquire them, unleſs through the channel of the maritime ſtates, whoſe navigation enabled them to diſperſe the ſuperfluities of their enjoyments over the whole continent. The Europeans have been ſo eager in their purſuit after theſe foreign luxuries, that neither the higheſt duties, the ſtricteſt prohibitions, nor the ſevereſt penalties, have

been able to reſtrain it. Every government, after having in vain tried to ſubdue this inclination, which only increaſed by oppoſition, has been forced at laſt to yield to it; though general prejudices, which were ſtrengthened by time and cuſtom, made them conſider this compliance as detrimental to the ſtability of the common good.

But the time was come, when it became neceſſary to remove the reſtraints. Can it be a matter of doubt, whether it is beneficial to add the enjoyments of foreign climates to thoſe of our own? Univerſal ſociety exiſts as well for the common intereſt of the whole, as by the mutual intereſt of all the individuals that compoſe it. An increaſe of felicity muſt, therefore, reſult from a general intercourſe. Commerce is the exerciſe of that valuable liberty, to which nature has invited all men; which is the ſource of their happineſs, and indeed of their virtues. We may even venture to aſſert, that men are never ſo truly ſenſible of their freedom as they are in a commercial intercourſe; nor is any thing ſo conducive to it as commercial laws: and one particular advantage derived from this circumſtance is, that as trade produces liberty, ſo it contributes to preſerve it.

We muſt be but little acquainted with man, if we imagine that, in order to make him happy, he muſt be debarred from enjoyments. We grant, that the being accuſtomed to want the conveniences of life leſſens the ſum of our misfortunes; but by diminiſhing our pleaſures in a greater proportion than our pains, we are rather brought to a ſtate

of inſenſibility than of happineſs. If nature has given man a heart ſuſceptible of tender impreſſions; if his imagination is for ever involuntarily employed in ſearch of ideal and deluſive objects of happineſs; it is fit that his reſtleſs mind ſhould have an infinite variety of enjoyments to purſue. But let reaſon teach him to be ſatisfied with ſuch things as he can enjoy, and not to be anxious for thoſe that are out of his reach; this is true wiſdom. But to require, that reaſon ſhould make us voluntarily reject what it is in our power to add to our preſent happineſs, is to contradict nature, and to ſubvert the firſt principles of ſociety.

How ſhall we perſuade man to be content with the few indulgences that moraliſts think proper to allow him? How ſhall we aſcertain the limits of what is neceſſary, which varies according to his ſituation in life, his attainments, and his deſires? No ſooner had his induſtry facilitated the means of procuring a ſubſiſtence, than the leiſure he gained by this was employed in extending the limits of his faculties, and the circle of his pleaſures. Hence aroſe all his factitious wants. The diſcovery of a new ſpecies of ſenſations excited a deſire of preſerving them, and a propenſity to find out others. The perfection of one art introduced the knowledge of ſeveral others. The ſucceſs of a war, occaſioned by hunger or revenge, ſuggeſted the notion of conqueſt. Navigation put men under a neceſſity of deſtroying one another, or of forming a general union. Commercial treaties between nations parted by the ſeas, and ſocial compacts between

between men diſperſed upon the earth, bore an exact reſemblance to eath other. Theſe ſeveral relations began by conteſts, and ended by aſſociations. War and navigation have occaſioned a mutual communication between different people and different colonies. Hence men became connected with each other by dependence or intercourſe. The refuſe of all nations, mixing together during the ravages of war, are improved and poliſhed by commerce; the intent of which is, that all nations ſhould conſider themſelves as one great ſociety, whoſe members have all an equal right to partake of the conveniences of the reſt. Commerce, in its object and in the means employed to carry it on, ſuppoſes an inclination and a liberty between all nations to make every exchange that can contribute to their mutual ſatisfaction. The inclination and the liberty of procuring enjoyments are the only two ſprings of induſtry, and the only two principles of ſocial intercourſe among men.

Those who cenſure the trade of Europe with India, have only the following reaſons to alledge againſt an univerſal and free intercourſe; that it is attended with a conſiderable loſs of men; that it checks the progreſs of our induſtry; and that it leſſens our ſtock of money. Theſe objections are eaſily obviated.

As long as every man ſhall be at liberty to chuſe a profeſſion, and to employ his abilities in any manner moſt agreeable to himſelf, we need not be ſolicitous about his deſtiny. As in a ſtate of freedom every thing has its proper value, no

man will expoſe himſelf to any danger, without expecting an equivalent. In a well-regulated ſociety, every individual is at liberty to do what is moſt conformable to his inclination and his intereſt, provided it is not inconſiſtent with the properties and liberties of others. A law, that ſhould prohibit every trade in which a man might endanger his life, would condemn a great part of mankind to ſtarve, and would deprive ſociety of numberleſs advantages. We need not paſs the Line to carry on a dangerous trade; ſince, even in Europe, we may find many occupations far more deſtructive to the human race than the navigation to India. If the perils attending ſea-voyages deſtroy ſome of our men, let us only give due encouragement to the culture of our lands, and our population will be ſo much increaſed, that we ſhall be better able to ſpare thoſe ſelf-devoted victims who are ſwallowed up by the ſea. To this we may add, that moſt of thoſe who periſh in long voyages are loſt through accidental cauſes, which might eaſily be prevented by more wholeſome diet and a more regular life. But if men will add, to the vices prevalent in their own climate, and to the corruption of their own manners, thoſe of the countries where they land, it is no wonder if they cannot reſiſt theſe united principles of deſtruction.

Even ſuppoſing that the India trade ſhould coſt Europe as many men as it is ſaid to do, are we certain that this loſs is not compenſated by the labours to which that trade gives riſe, and which encourage and increaſe our population? Would not

not the men, dispersed upon the several ships continually sailing in these latitudes, occupy a place upon land which is now left vacant for others? If we consider attentively the number of people contained in the small territories of maritime powers, we shall be convinced, that it is not the navigation to Asia, nor even navigation in general, that is detrimental to the population of Europe: but, on the contrary, navigation alone may, perhaps, balance all the causes that tend to the destruction and decrease of mankind. Let us now endeavour to remove the fears of those who apprehend that the India trade lessens the number of our manufactories at home, and the profits arising from them.

Admitting it true, that it had put a stop to some of our labours, it has given rise to many more. It has introduced into our colonies the culture of sugar, coffee, and indigo. Many of our manufactures are supported by India silk and cotton. If Saxony and other countries in Europe make very fine china; if Valencia manufactures Pekins superior to those of China; if Switzerland imitates the muslins and worked callicoes of Bengal; if England and France print linens with great elegance; if so many stuffs, formerly unknown in our climates, now employ our best artists; are we not indebted to India for all these advantages?

Let us proceed further, and suppose that we are not indebted to Asia for any of our improvements, the consumption we make of its commodities cannot therefore be detrimental to our industry; for we pay for them with the produce of our own

manufactures exported to America. I ſell a hundred livres worth of linen to the Spaniard, and ſend that money to the Eaſt-Indies. Another ſends the ſame quantity of the linen itſelf. We both bring home tea. In fact, we are both doing the ſame thing; we are changing a hundred livres worth of linen into tea: the only difference is, that the one does it by two tranſactions, and the other by a ſingle one. Suppoſe the Spaniard, inſtead of giving me money, had given me goods that were ſaleable in India, I ſhould not have hindered our artificers by carrying them thither. Is it not the very ſame thing as if I had carried our own produce thither? I ſail from Europe with the manufactures of my own country; I go to the South Sea, and exchange them for piaſtres; I carry thoſe piaſtres to India, and bring home things that are either uſeful or agreeable. Have I been the means of reſtraining the induſtry of my country? Far from it; I have extended the conſumption of its produce, and multiplied the enjoyments of my countrymen. But what miſleads the oppoſers of the India trade is, that the piaſtres are brought over to Europe before they are carried to Aſia. And, laſtly, whether the money is or is not employed as the intermediate pledge of exchange, I have either directly or indirectly made an exchange with Aſia, and bartered goods for goods, my manufactory for theirs, my productions for their productions.

But it is objected by ſome diſcontented men, that India has at all times ſwallowed up all the treaſures of the univerſe. Ever ſince chance has

taught men the uſe of metals, ſay theſe cenſurers, they have never ceaſed to ſearch for them. Avarice, ever reſtleſs, has not forſaken theſe barren rocks, where nature has wiſely concealed thoſe inſidious treaſures. Since they were taken out of the bowels of the earth, they have conſtantly been diffuſed upon it; and notwithſtanding the extreme opulence of the Romans, and of ſome other nations, they have diſappeared from Europe, Africa, and ſome parts of Aſia. India hath entirely abſorbed them. Riches are all taking the ſame courſe; paſſing on continually from weſt to eaſt, and never returning. It is therefore for India that the mines of Peru have been opened, and for the Indians that the Europeans have been guilty of ſo many crimes in America. Whilſt the Spaniards are laviſhing the lives of their ſlaves in Mexico, to obtain ſilver out of the bowels of the earth, the Banians take ſtill more pains to bury it again. If ever the wealth of Potoſi ſhould be exhauſted, we muſt go in ſearch for it on the coaſt of Malabar where we have ſent it. When we have drained India of its pearls and ſpices, we ſhall, perhaps, by force of arms recover from them the ſums thoſe luxuries have coſt us. Thus ſhall our cruelties and caprices remove the gold and ſilver into other climes, where avarice and ſuperſtition will again bury them under ground.

THESE complaints are not altogether groundleſs. Even ſince the reſt of the world have opened a communication with India, they have conſtantly exchanged gold and ſilver for arts and commodities. Nature has ſupplied the Indians the few neceſſaries

they

they want; their climate will not admit of our luxuries; and their religion gives them an abhorrence for ſome things that we feed upon. As their cuſtoms, manners, and government, have continued the ſame, notwithſtanding the revolutions that have overturned their country, we muſt not expect they ſhould ever alter. India ever was, and ever will be, what it now is. As long as any trade is carried on there, money will be brought in, and goods ſent out. But before we exclaim againſt the abuſe of this trade, we ſhould attend to its progreſs, and conſider what is the reſult of it.

First, it is certain our gold does not go to India. It has gold of its own, beſides a conſtant ſupply from Monomotapa, which comes by the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, and by the Red Sea; from the Turks, which is brought by the way of Arabia and Baſſora; and from Perſia, which is conveyed both by the ocean and the continent. This enormous maſs is never increaſed by the gold we procure from the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies. In ſhort, we are ſo far from carrying gold to Aſia, that for a long while we carried ſilver to China to barter it againſt gold.

Even the ſilver which India gets from us is by no means ſo conſiderable as may be imagined from the immenſe quantity of Indian goods we bring home. The annual ſale of theſe goods has of late years amounted to a hundred and fifty millions *. Suppoſing they have coſt but half of what they

* 6, 62,500 l.

ſold

ſold for, ſeventy-five millions* muſt have been ſent to India to purchaſe them, beſides what muſt have been ſent over for our ſettlements. We ſhall not ſcruple to affirm, that, for ſome time paſt, all Europe has not carried thither more than twenty-four millions † a year. Eight millions ‡ are ſent from France, ſix ‖ from Holland, three § from England, three ** from Denmark, two †† from Sweden, and two ‡‡ from Portugal.

THIS calculation will not appear improbable, if we conſider, that though in general India is in no want either of our produce or of our manufactures, yet they receive from us, in iron, lead, copper, woollens, and other leſs articles, to the full amount of one-fifth of the commodities we buy there.

THIS mode of payment is augmented by the produce of the European ſettlements in Aſia. The moſt conſiderable are thoſe of the ſpice iſlands for the Dutch, and of Bengal for the Engliſh.

THE fortunes made by the free traders and agents in India contribute alſo to leſſen the exportation of our ſpecie. Thoſe induſtrious men depoſit their ſtock in the coffers of their own country, or of ſome other nation, to be repaid them in Europe, whither they all return ſooner or latter. So that a part of the India trade is carried on with money got in the country.

PARTICULAR events alſo put us ſometimes in poſſeſſion of the treaſures of the eaſt. It is undeniable, that by the revolutions in the Decan and

* 3,281,250 l. † 1,050,000 l. ‡ 350,000 l.
‖ 262,500 l. § 131,250 l. ** 131,250 l.
†† 87,500 l. ‡‡ 87,500 l.

Bengal,

Bengal, and by diſpoſing of theſe empires at pleaſure, the French and the Engliſh have obtained the wealth accumulated for ſo many ages. It is evident that thoſe ſums, joined to others leſs conſiderable, which the Europeans have acquired by their ſuperior ſkill and bravery, muſt have retained a great deal of ſpecie among them, which otherwiſe would have gone into Aſia.

That rich part of the world has even reſtored to us ſome of the treaſure we had poured into it. The expedition of Kouli Khan into India is univerſally known; but it is not equally ſo, that he wreſted from the effeminate and cowardly people of this country upwards of 2,000,000,000 * in ſpecie, or in valuable effects. The emperor's palace alone contained ineſtimable and innumerable treaſures. The preſence chamber was covered with plates of gold; the cieling was ſet with diamonds. Twelve pillars of maſſive gold, adorned with pearls and precious ſtones, ſurrounded the throne, the canopy of which was remarkably beautiful, and repreſented a peacock, with wings and tail extended to overſhadow the monarch. The diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and all the ſparkling gems which compoſed this curious piece of workmanſhip, perfectly imitated the colours of this beautiful bird. No doubt part of that wealth is returned into India. Much of the treaſure brought to Perſia from the conqueſt of the Mogul, muſt have been buried under ground during the ſubſequent wars; but the

* $7,500,000.

ſeveral

ſeveral branches of commerce muſt certainly have brought ſome to Europe through ſuch channels as are too well known to make it neceſſary to ſpecify them.

ADMITTING that none of theſe riches have reached us, the opinion of thoſe who condemn the trade of India, becauſe it is carried on with ſpecie, will not be better ſupported, which may be eaſily proved. Gold and ſilver are not the produce of our ſoil, but of America, and ſent us in exchange for the productions of our own country. If Europe did not remit them to Aſia, America would ſoon be unable to return any to Europe. The too great plenty of it on our continent would ſo reduce its value, that the nations who bring it to us could no longer get it from their colonies. When once an ell of linen cloth, which is now worth twenty ſols*, riſes to a piſtole†, the Spaniards cannot buy it of us, to carry it to the country which produces ſilver. The working of their mines is expenſive. When this expence ſhall have increaſed to ten times that ſum, and the value of ſilver is ſtill the ſame, the buſineſs of working in the mines will be more coſtly than profitable to the owners, who will conſequently give it up. No more gold and ſilver will come from the new world to the old; and the Americans will be obliged to neglect their richeſt mines, as they have gradually forſaken the leſs valuable ones. This event would have taken place before, if they had not found a way of diſpoſing of about 3,000,000,000‡ in Aſia, by the Cape of Good

* 10 d. ½. † 16s. 9d. ‡ 131,250,000l.

Hope,

Hope, or by the Philippine iſlands. Therefore this circulation of money into India, which ſo many prejudiced perſons have hitherto conſidered as a ruinous exportation, has been beneficial both to Spain, by ſupporting the only manufacture ſhe has, and to other nations, who without it could never have diſpoſed of their produce, or of the fruits of their induſtry. Having thus juſtified the India trade, we ſhall next proceed to inquire whether it has been conducted on the principles of ſound policy.

An inquiry whether it is neceſſary, that the Europeans ſhould have large eſtabliſhments in India, in order to carry on the trade.

ALL the nations in Europe, who have ſailed round the Cape of Good Hope, have aimed at founding great empires in Aſia. The Portugueſe, who led the way to thoſe wealthy regions, firſt ſet us the example of a boundleſs ambition. Not content with having made themſelves maſters of the iſlands in which the choiceſt productions were to be found, and erected fortreſſes wherever they were neceſſary to ſecure to themſelves the navigation of the eaſt, they aſpired alſo to the authority of giving laws to Malabar, which, being divided into ſeveral petty ſovereignties, that were jealous of, or at enmity with each other, was forced to ſubmit to the yoke.

The Spaniards did not at firſt ſhew more moderation; even before they had compleated the conqueſt of the Philippine iſlands, which were to be the centre of their power, they ſtrove to extend their dominion further. If they have not ſince ſubdued the reſt of that immenſe Archipelago, or filled all the adjacent countries with their enormities, we muſt look for the cauſe of their tranquillity

quillity in the treaſures of America, which confined their purſuits, though they did not ſatisfy their deſires.

The Dutch deprived the Portugueſe of their moſt conſiderable poſts on the continent, and drove them out of the ſpice iſlands. They have preſerved thoſe poſſeſſions, and ſome later acquiſitions, only by eſtabliſhing a form of government leſs oppreſſive than that of the nations on whoſe ruins they were riſing.

The ſlowneſs and irreſolution of the French in their proceedings prevented them for a conſiderable time from forming or executing any great projects. As ſoon as they found themſelves ſufficiently powerful, they availed themſelves of the ſubverſion of the power of the Moguls to uſurp the dominion of Coromandel. They obtained by conqueſt, or by artful negotiations, a more extenſive territory than any European power had ever poſſeſſed in Indoſtan.

The Engliſh, more prudent, did not attempt to aggrandiſe themſelves, till they had deprived the French of their acquiſitions, and till no rival nation could act againſt them. The certainty of having none but the natives of the country to contend with, determined them to attack Bengal. This was the province of all India which afforded moſt commodities fit for the markets of Aſia and Europe, and was likely to conſume moſt of their manufactures: it was alſo that which their fleet could moſt effectually protect, as it hath the advantage of a great river. They have ſucceeded in their plan of conqueſt,

queſt, and flatter themſelves they ſhall long enjoy the fruits of their victory.

THEIR ſucceſſes, and thoſe of the French, have aſtoniſhed all nations. It is eaſy to conceive how ſolitary and defenceleſs iſlands, that have no connection with their neighbours, may have been ſubdued. But it is very aſtoniſhing, that five or ſix hundred Europeans ſhould at this time have beaten innumerable armies of Gentiles and Mohammedans, moſtly ſkilled in the art of war. Theſe extraordinary ſcenes, however, ought not to appear ſurpriſing to any one who conſiders what has happened before.

THE Portugueſe had no ſooner appeared in the eaſt, than with a few ſhips and a few ſoldiers they ſubverted whole kingdoms. The eſtabliſhment of ſome factories, and the building of a ſmall number of forts, was ſufficient to enable them to cruſh the powers of India. When the Indians were no longer oppreſſed by the firſt conquerors, they were ſo by thoſe who expelled and ſucceeded them. The hiſtory of theſe delightful regions was no longer the hiſtory of the natives, but that of their tyrants.

BUT what ſingular men muſt theſe have been, who never could gather any improvement from experience and adverſity; who ſurrendered themſelves to their common enemy without making any reſiſtance, and who never acquired ſkill enough from their continual defeats to repulſe a few adventurers, caſt as it were from the ſea upon their coaſts! It is a matter of doubt whether theſe men, alternately deceived and ſubdued by thoſe who attacked

tacked them, were not of a different ſpecies. To reſolve this problem, we need only trace the cauſes of this weakneſs in the Indians; and our firſt inquiry ſhall turn upon that ſyſtem of deſpotiſm with which they are oppreſſed.

THERE is no nation, which, as it becomes civilized, does not loſe ſomething of its virtue, courage, and independence; and it is evident that the inhabitants of the ſouth of Aſia, having been firſt collected into ſocieties, muſt have been the earlieſt expoſed to deſpotiſm. Such has been the progreſs of all aſſociations from the beginning of the world. Another truth, equally evident from hiſtory, is, that all arbitrary power haſtens its own deſtruction; and that revolutions will reſtore liberty, ſooner or later, as they are more or leſs rapid. Indoſtan is perhaps the only country, in which the inhabitants, after having once loſt their rights, have never been able to recover them. Tyrants have frequently been deſtroyed; but tyranny has always ſupported itſelf.

CIVIL ſlavery has been added in India to political ſlavery. The Indian is not maſter of his own life; he knows of no law that will protect it from the caprice of the tyrant, or the fury of his agents. He is not maſter of his own underſtanding; he is debarred from all ſtudies that are beneficial to mankind, and only allowed ſuch as tend to enſlave him. He is not maſter of his own field; the lands and their produce belong to the ſovereign, and the labourer may be ſatisfied if he can earn enough to ſubſiſt himſelf and family. He is not maſter of his own induſtry; every artiſt, who has had the miſ-

fortune to betray ſome abilities, is in danger of being doomed to ſerve the monarch, his deputies, or ſome rich man who has purchaſed a right to employ him as he pleaſes. He is not maſter of his own wealth: he buries his gold under ground, to ſecure it from the rapacious hand of power; and leaves it there at his death, abſurdly imagining it will be of ſervice to him in the next world. No doubt this abſolute and tyrannical authority, with which the Indian is every where oppreſſed, muſt ſubdue his ſpirit, and render him incapable of thoſe efforts that courage requires.

THE climate of Indoſtan is another impediment to any generous exertions. The indolence it inſpires is an invincible obſtacle to great revolutions and vigorous oppoſitions, ſo common in the northern regions. The body and the mind, equally enervated, have only the virtues and vices of ſlavery. In the ſecond, or at furtheſt in the third generation, Tartars, Turks, Perſians, and even Europeans, contract the ſlothful diſpoſition of the Indians. Theſe influences of the climate might certainly be ſubdued by religious or moral inſtitutions; but the ſuperſtitions of the country will not admit of ſuch exalted views. They never promiſe future rewards to the generous patriot, who falls in his country's cauſe. While they adviſe, and ſometimes command ſuicide, by repreſenting in a ſtrong light the alluring proſpect of future happineſs, they at the ſame time ſtrictly forbid the effuſion of blood.

THIS circumſtance is a neceſſary conſequence of the doctrine of tranſmigration, which muſt inſpire its

its followers with conſtant and univerſal benevolence. They are in continual fear of injuring their neighbour, that is, all men and all animals. How can a man reconcile himſelf to the idea of being a ſoldier, when he can ſay, Perhaps the elephant or the horſe I am going to deſtroy may contain the ſoul of my father—perhaps the enemy I ſhall kill has formerly been the chief of my family? Thus, in India religion tends to keep up the ſpirit of cowardice which reſults from deſpotiſm and the nature of the climate; the manners of the people contribute ſtill more to increaſe it.

In every country, love is the ruling paſſion, but it is not equally ſtrong in every climate. While northern nations are moderate in their deſires, the ſouthern ones indulge in them with a degree of ardour ſuperior to every reſtraint. The policy of princes has ſometimes turned this paſſion to the advantage of ſociety; but the legiſlators of India ſeem to have principally intended to increaſe the fatal influence of their ardent climate. The Moguls, the laſt conquerors of thoſe regions, have proceeded ſtill further. Love is with them a ſhameful and deſtructive exceſs, conſecrated by religion, by the laws, and by government. The military conduct of the nations of Indoſtan, whether Pagans or Mohammedans, is conſiſtent with their diſſolute manners. We ſhall mention ſome particulars taken from the writings of an Engliſh officer remarkable for his military exploits in thoſe parts.

The ſoldiers make up the ſmalleſt part of the Indian camps. Every trooper is attended by his

wife, his children, and two ſervants; one to look after his horſe, and the other to forage. The train of the officers and generals is proportionable to their vanity, their fortune, and their rank. The ſovereign himſelf, more intent upon making a parade of his magnificence than upon the neceſſities of war, when he takes the field, carries along with him his ſeraglio, his elephants, his court, and almoſt all the inhabitants of his capital. To provide for the wants, the fancies, and the luxury of this ſtrange multitude, a kind of town muſt of courſe be formed in the midſt of the army, full of magazines and unneceſſary articles. The motions of a body ſo unwieldy and ſo ill-arranged cannot but be very ſlow. There is great confuſion in their marches, and in all their operations. However abſtemious the Indians, and even the Moguls, may be, they muſt often experience a want of proviſions; and famine is uſually attended with contagious diſtempers, and occaſions a dreadful mortality.

These diſtempers, however, ſeldom deſtroy any but recruits. Though, in general, the inhabitants of Indoſtan affect a ſtrong paſſion for military glory, yet they engage in war as ſeldom as they can. Thoſe, who have been ſo ſucceſsful in battle as to obtain ſome marks of diſtinction, are excuſed from ſerving for ſome time; and there are few that do not avail themſelves of this privilege. The retreat of theſe veterans reduces the army to a contemptible body of ſoldiers, levied in haſte in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, and who are utterly unacquainted with diſcipline.

THE nature of the proviſions on which theſe troops ſubſiſt, and their manner of living, is entirely conſiſtent with this improper mode of raiſing them. At night they eat a prodigious quantity of rice; and after this meal they take ſtrong opiates, which throw them into a deep ſleep. Notwithſtanding this pernicious cuſtom, no guards are placed about their camp to prevent a ſurprize; nor is it poſſible to make a ſoldier riſe early even to execute any enterprize that may require the greateſt diſpatch.

THE military operations are regulated by birds of prey, of which there are always a great number in the army. If they are found heavy or languid, it is an unfavourable omen, and prevents the army from giving battle: if they are fierce and violent, the troops march out to action, whatever reaſons there may be for avoiding or deferring it. This ſuperſtition, as well as the obſervance of lucky and unlucky days, determines the fate of the beſt-concerted deſigns.

No order is obſerved in marching. Every ſoldier goes on as he pleaſes, and only follows the corps to which he belongs. He is frequently ſeen carrying his proviſions upon his head, with the veſſels for dreſſing them; whilſt his arms are carried by his wife, who is commonly followed by ſeveral children. If a foot-ſoldier has any relations, or buſineſs to tranſact, in the enemy's army, he is under no apprehenſion in going to it; and returns to join his colours without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition.

THE action is not better conducted than the preparations for it. The cavalry, in which conſiſts the whole ſtrength of an Indian army (for the infantry are held in general contempt), are uſeful enough in charging with the ſword and ſpear, but can never ſtand the fire of cannon and muſquetry. They are afraid of loſing their horſes, which are moſtly Arabian, Perſian, or Tartar, and in which their whole fortune conſiſts. The troops that compoſe this cavalry are held in great eſteem, and well paid: they are ſo fond of their horſes, that ſometimes they will go into mourning upon loſing them.

THE Indians dread the enemy's artillery, as much as they confide in their own; though they neither know how to tranſport it, nor how to make uſe of it. Their great guns, which are called by pompous names, are generally of a very extraordinary ſize, and rather prevent than aſſiſt the gaining of a victory.

THOSE who are ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed intoxicate themſelves with opium, imagining that it warms the blood, and animates them to the performance of heroic actions. In this temporary ſtate of intoxication, they bear a greater reſemblance, in their dreſs and impotent rage, to women actuated by a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, than to men of courage and reſolution.

THE prince who commands theſe deſpicable troops is always mounted on an elephant richly capariſoned, where he is at once the general and the ſtandard of the whole army, whoſe eyes are fixed upon him. If he flies, he is ſlain; the whole machine

machine is deſtroyed; the ſeveral corps diſperſe, or go over to the enemy.

This deſcription, which we might have enlarged upon without exaggeration, renders probable the account given of our ſucceſſes in Indoſtan. Many Europeans, judging of what might be effected in the inland parts by what has been done on the coaſts, imagine we might ſafely undertake the conqueſt of the whole country. This extreme confidence ariſes from the following circumſtance: that in places where the enemy could not harraſs their troops in the rear, nor intercept their ſuccours, they have overcome timorous weavers and merchants, undiſciplined and cowardly armies, weak princes jealous of each other and perpetually at war with their neighbours or their own ſubjects. They do not conſider, that, if they wanted to penetrate into the interior parts, they would all periſh before they had proceeded half way up the country. The exceſſive heat of the climate, continual fatigue, numberleſs diſeaſes, want of proviſion, and a variety of other cauſes, would ſoon conſiderably diminiſh their numbers, even though they had nothing to apprehend from thoſe troops that might moleſt them.

We will ſuppoſe, however, that ten thouſand European ſoldiers had actually over-run and ravaged India from one end to the other: what would be the conſequence? would theſe forces be ſufficient to ſecure the conqueſt, to keep every nation, every province, every diſtrict, in order? And if this number is not ſufficient, let it be calculated what number of troops would be neceſſary for the purpoſe.

But let us admit that the conquerors had firmly eſtabliſhed their government in India, they would ſtill reap very little advantage from this circumſtance. The revenues of Indoſtan would be ſpent in Indoſtan itſelf. The European power, that had purſued this project of uſurpation, would have experienced nothing but a conſiderable decreaſe in its population, and the diſgrace of having followed a viſionary ſyſtem.

This, indeed, is now an uſeleſs queſtion, ſince the Europeans themſelves have made their ſucceſs in Indoſtan more difficult than ever. By engaging the natives to take a part in their mutual diſſentions, they have taught them the art of war, and trained them to arms and diſcipline. This error in politics has opened the eyes of the ſovereigns of thoſe countries, whoſe ambition has been excited to eſtabliſh regular troops. Their cavalry marches in better order; and their infantry, which was always conſidered in ſo deſpicable a light, has now acquired the firmneſs of our battalions. A numerous and well-managed artillery defends their camps, and protects their attacks. The armies, compoſed of better troops, and better paid, have been able to keep the field longer.

This change, which might have been foreſeen, had the Europeans not been blinded by temporary intereſt, may in time become ſo conſiderable, as to raiſe unſurmountable obſtacles to the deſire they have of extending their conqueſts in Indoſtan, and poſſibly they may loſe thoſe they have already

made. Whether this will be a misfortune or an advantage, is what we ſhall next take into conſideration.

When the Europeans firſt began to trade in that wealthy region, they found it divided into a great many ſmall ſtates, ſome of which were governed by princes of their own nation, and ſome by Patan kings. Their mutual hatred was the occaſion of continual conteſts. Beſides the wars that were carried on between province and province, there was a perpetual one between every ſovereign and his ſubjects. It was fomented by the tax-gatherers, who, to ingratiate themſelves at court, always levied heavier taxes than had been laid on the people. Theſe barbarians aggravated this heavy burden by the oppreſſions they made the inhabitants ſuffer. Their extortions were only another method of ſecuring to themſelves the poſts they enjoyed, in a country where he is always in the right who has the moſt to give.

From this anarchy and theſe violent proceedings, it was imagined, that, to ſettle a ſafe and permanent commerce, it was neceſſary to ſupport it by the force of arms; and the European factories were accordingly fortified. In proceſs of time, jealouſy, which divides the European nations in India, as it does every where elſe, expoſed them to more conſiderable expences. Each of theſe foreign nations thought it neceſſary to augment their forces, leſt they ſhould be overpowered by their rivals.

The dominion of the Europeans, however, extended no further than their own fortreſſes. Goods were

were brought thither from the inland parts with little difficulty, or with such as was easily overcome. Even after the conquests of Kouli-kan had plunged the north of Indostan into confusion, the coast of Coromandel enjoyed its former tranquillity. But the death of Nizam-al-Muluc, Subah of the Decan, kindled a flame which is not yet fully extinguished.

The disposal of those immense spoils naturally belonged to the court of Dehly; but the weakness of that court emboldened the children of Nizam to dispute their father's treasure. To supplant each other, they had recourse alternately to arms, to treachery, to poison, and to assassinations. Most of the adventurers they engaged in their animosities and crimes perished during these horrid transactions. The Marattas alone, a nation who alternately sided with both parties, and often had troops in each, seemed as if they would avail themselves of this anarchy, and invade the sovereignty of the Decan. The Europeans have pretended it was greatly their interest to oppose this deep but secret design, and they alledge the following reasons in their defence:

The Marattas, say they, are thieves, both from education and from their political principles. They have no regard to the law of nations, no notion of natural or civil right, and spread desolation wherever they go. The most populous countries are abandoned at the very report of their approach. In the countries they have subdued, nothing is to be seen but confusion, and all the manufactures are destroyed.

The

The Europeans, who were moſt powerful on the coaſt of Coromandel, thought ſuch neighbours would utterly deſtroy their trade; and they could never venture to ſend money by their agents to buy goods in the inland countries, as they would certainly be plundered by theſe banditti. The deſire of preventing this evil, which muſt ruin their fortunes, and deprive them of the benefit of their ſettlements, ſuggeſted to their agents the idea of a new ſyſtem.

It was aſſerted, that, in the preſent ſituation of Indoſtan, it was impoſſible to keep up uſeful connections without a military eſtabliſhment: that, at ſo great a diſtance from the mother-country, the expence could not poſſibly be defrayed out of the mere profits of trade, were they ever ſo great: that therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to procure ſufficient poſſeſſions to anſwer theſe great expences; and conſequently that the poſſeſſions muſt be conſiderable.

This argument, probably ſuggeſted to conceal inſatiable avarice and boundleſs ambition, and which the paſſion for conqueſt may have occaſioned to be conſidered as a very ſtrong one, may perhaps be a mere illuſion. A variety of natural, moral, and political reaſons may be urged in oppoſition to it. We ſhall only inſiſt upon one, which is founded upon a fact. From the Portugueſe, who firſt attempted to aggrandize themſelves in India, to the Engliſh, who cloſed the fatal liſt of uſurpers, not one acquiſition, however important or trifling, except Bengal and the ſpice iſlands, has ever paid the expence of taking and ſupporting it,

it. The more extenſive the poſſeſſions have been, the greater has been the expence of maintaining them to the ambitious power that had, by whatever means, acquired them.

This is what will always happen. Every nation that has obtained a large territory will be deſirous of preſerving it. It will think there is no ſafety but in fortified places, and will conſtantly multiply them. This warlike appearance will deter the huſbandman and the artiſt, who will not expect to enjoy tranquillity. The neighbouring princes will grow jealous, and will juſtly be afraid of falling a prey to a trading nation now become a conquering one. In conſequence of this, they will be deviſing means to ruin an oppreſſor, whom they had admitted into their harbours with no other view than to increaſe their own treaſures and power. If they find themſelves under a neceſſity of entering into a treaty, they will at the inſtant of ſigning ſecretly vow the deſtruction of their new ally. Falſhood will be the baſis of all their agreements; and the longer they have been forced to diſſemble, the more time they will have had to prepare the means deſtined to deſtroy their enemy.

The juſt apprehenſion of theſe perfidies will oblige the uſurpers to be always upon their guard. If they are to be defended by Europeans, what a conſumption of men for the mother country! what an expence to raiſe them, to tranſport them into theſe countries, to maintain and recruit them! If, from a principle of œconomy, they content themſelves with the Indian troops, what can be expected from

from a confuſed and unprincipled multitude, whoſe expeditions always degenerate into robbery, and conſtantly end in a ſhameful and precipitate flight? Their principles, whether natural or moral, are ſo weakened, that even the defence of their gods and their own houſholds could never inſpire the boldeſt among them with any thing beyond a ſudden and tranſient exertion of intrepidity. It is not probable that foreign intereſts, ruinous to their country, ſhould ever animate men whoſe minds are ſunk in indolence and corruption: is it not more probable that they will be ever ready to betray a cauſe they abhor, and in which they find no immediate and laſting advantage?

To theſe inconveniences will be added a ſpirit of extortion and plunder, which even in the times of peace will nearly reſemble the devaſtations of war. The agents, intruſted with thoſe remote concerns, will be deſirous of making rapid fortunes. The ſlow and regular profits of trade they will not attend to, but will endeavour to promote ſpeedy revolutions in order to acquire great wealth. They will have occaſioned innumerable evils before they can be controuled by authority at the diſtance of ſix thouſand leagues. This authority will have no force againſt millions; or the perſons intruſted with it will arrive too late to prevent the fall of an edifice ſupported on ſo weak a foundation.

This reſult makes it needleſs to inquire into the nature of the political engagements the Europeans have entered into with the powers of India. If theſe great acquiſitions are hurtful, the treaties made to procure

procure them cannot be rational. If the merchants of Europe are wiſe, they will forego the rage of conqueſt, and the flattering hopes of holding the balance of Aſia.

The court of Dehly will finally ſink under the weight of inteſtine diviſions, or fortune will raiſe up a prince capable of reſtoring it. The government will remain feudal, or once more become deſpotic. The empire will be divided into many independent ſtates, or will be ſubject only to one maſter. Either the Marattas or the Moguls will become a ruling power; but the Europeans ſhould not be concerned in theſe revolutions; whatever be the fate of Indoſtan, the Indians will ſtill continue their manufactures, and we ſhall purchaſe them.

It would be needleſs to alledge, that the ſpirit which has always prevailed in thoſe countries has forced us to depart from their common rules of trade; that we are in arms upon the coaſts; that this poſition unavoidably obliges us to interfere with the affairs of our neighbours; and that, if we avoid all intercourſe with them, ſuch a reſerve will certainly prove extremely detrimental to our intereſts. Theſe fears will appear groundleſs to ſenſible men, who know that a war in thoſe diſtant regions muſt be ſtill more fatal to the Europeans than to the natives; and that the conſequence will be, that we muſt either ſubdue the whole, which is ſcarcely poſſible, or be for ever expelled from a country where it is our advantage to maintain our connections.

THE love of order and tranquillity would even make it desirable to extend these pacific views; and, far from thinking that great possessions are necessary, time will probably discover even the inutility of fortified posts. The Indians are naturally gentle and humane, though crushed under the severe burden of despotism. The nations, who formerly traded with them, always commended them for their candor and honesty. The Indians are now in a state of confusion, equally alarming to them and to us. Our ambition has carried discord into all parts of their country, and our rapaciousness has inspired them with hatred, fear, and contempt for our continent; they look upon us as conquerors, usurpers, and oppressors, sanguinary and avaricious men. This is the character we have acquired in the east. Our examples have increased the number of their national vices, at the same time that we have taught them to be in guard against ours.

IF in our transactions with the Indians we had been guided by principles of probity; if we had shewn them, that mutual advantage is the basis of commerce; if we had encouraged their cultivation, and manufactures, by exchanges equally advantageous to both; we should insensibly have gained their affections. If we had fortunately taken care to preserve their confidence in our dealings with them, we might have removed their prejudices, and, perhaps, changed their form of government. We should have succeeded so far as to have lived amongst them, and trained up civilized nations around us, who would have protected our settlements

ments for our mutual intereſts. Every one of our eſtabliſhments would have been to each nation in Europe as their native country, where they would have found a ſure protection. Our ſituation in India is the conſequence of our profligacy, and of the ſanguinary ſyſtems we have introduced there. The Indians imagine nothing is due to us, becauſe all our actions have ſhewn that we did not think ourſelves under any ties with reſpect to them.

This ſtate of perpetual contention is diſpleaſing to moſt of the Aſiatic nations, and they ardently wiſh for a happier change. The diſorder of our affairs muſt have inſpired us with the ſame ſentiments. If we are all in the ſame diſpoſitions, and if one common intereſt really inclines us to peace and harmony, the moſt effectual way to attain this deſirable end would perhaps be, that all the European nations, who trade to India, ſhould agree among themſelves to preſerve a neutrality in thoſe remote ſeas, which ſhould never be interrupted by the diſturbances that ſo frequently happen on our own continent. If we could once conſider ourſelves as members of one great commonwealth, we ſhould not want thoſe forces which make us odious abroad, and ruin us at home. But, as our preſent ſpirit of diſcord will not permit us to expect that ſuch a change can ſoon take place, it remains only that we now conſider, whether Europe ought ſtill to carry on the India trade by charter companies, or to make it a free trade.

Whether Europe ought to lay open the trade to India, or carry it on by exclusive charters.

If this question were to be decided upon general principles, it would be easily answered. If we ask whether, in a state which allows any particular branch of trade, every citizen has a right to partake of it; the answer is so plain as to leave no room for discussion. It would be unnatural, that subjects who share alike the burden and public expence of civil society, should not be alike partakers of the benefits arising from the compact that unites them; they would have cause to complain, that they sustain all the inconveniences of society, and are deprived of the advantages they expected to receive from it.

On the other hand, political notions are perfectly reconcileable with these ideas of justice. It is well known that freedom is the very soul of commerce, and that nothing else can bring it to perfection. It is generally allowed that competition awakens industry, and gives it all the vigour it is capable of acquiring. Yet, for upwards of a century, the practice has constantly been contradictory to these principles.

All the nations of Europe, that trade to India, carry on that commerce by exclusive companies; and it must be confessed, that this practice is plausible, because it is hardly conceivable that great and enlightened nations should have been under a mistake for above a hundred years on so important a point, and that neither experience nor argument should have undeceived them. We must conclude therefore that either the advocates for liberty have given too great a latitude to their principles, or

the favourers of exclusive privilege have too strenuously asserted the necessity of such limitations; possibly, both parties, from too great an attachment to their respective opinions, have been deceived, and are equally distant from the truth.

Ever since this famous question has been debated, it has always been thought to be a very simple one; it has always been supposed that an India company must necessarily be exclusive, and that its existence was essentially connected with its privilege. Hence the advocates for a free trade have asserted that exclusive privileges were odious; and, therefore, that there ought to be no company. Their opponents have argued, on the contrary, that the nature of things required a company; and therefore that there must be an exclusive charter. But if we can make it appear that the reasons urged against charters prove nothing against companies in general, and that the circumstances, which may render it necessary to have an India company, do not supply any argument in favour of a charter; if we can demonstrate that the nature of things requires, indeed, a powerful association, a company for the India trade; but that the exclusive charter is connected only with particular causes, insomuch that the company may exist without the charter; we shall then have traced the source of the common error, and found out the solution of the difficulty.

Let us inquire what constitutes the particular nature of commercial transactions. It is the climate, the produce, the distance of places, the form of the government,

government, the genius and manners of the people who are ſubject to it. In the trade with India, the merchant muſt undertake a voyage of ſix thouſand miles in ſearch of the commodities which the country ſupplies: he muſt arrive there at a certain ſeaſon, and wait till another for the proper winds to return home. Therefore every voyage takes up about two years, and the proprietors of the veſſels muſt wait this time for their returns. This is the firſt and a very material circumſtance.

THE nature of a government in which there is neither ſafety nor property will not permit the people to have any public markets, or to lay up any ſtores. Let us repreſent to ourſelves men who are depreſſed and corrupted by deſpotiſm, workmen who are unable to undertake any thing of themſelves; and, on the other hand, nature more liberal in her gifts, than power is rapacious, ſupplying a ſlothful people with food ſufficient for their wants and their deſires; and we ſhall wonder that any induſtry ſhould be found in India. And indeed it may be affirmed, that ſcarce any manufacture would be carried on there, if the workmen were not encouraged by ready-money, or if the goods were not engaged for a year before they are wanted. One third of the money is paid at the time the work is ordered, another when it is half done, and the remainder on delivery of the goods. From this mode of payment there is a conſiderable difference made, both in price and in the quality of the goods; but from hence likewiſe ariſes a neceſſity of having one's capital out a year longer,

that is, three years inſtead of two. This is an alarming circumſtance for a private man, eſpecially if we conſider the largeneſs of the capital that is requiſite for ſuch undertakings.

As the charges of navigation and the riſques are very great, they cannot be ſupported without bringing home complete cargoes, that is, cargoes of a million or a million and a half of livres*, at prime-coſt in India. Where ſhall we find merchants, or even men poſſeſſed of a ſufficient capital to enable them to advance ſuch a ſum, to be reimburſed only at the end of three years? Undoubtedly there are very few in Europe; and among thoſe who might have the power, ſcarce any would have the will. If we conſult experience, we ſhall find that men of moderate fortunes only are the perſons who are inclined to run great riſques, in order to make great profits. But when once a man is poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, he is inclined to enjoy it, and to enjoy it with ſecurity. The deſire of riches cannot indeed be ſatisfied by the poſſeſſion of them, which, on the contrary, frequently increaſes it; but, at the ſame time, the poſſeſſion of wealth furniſhes various means of gratifying that deſire without either trouble or danger. This opens to our view the neceſſity of entering into aſſociations, where a number of men will not ſcruple to be concerned, becauſe every individual will venture but a ſmall part of his fortune, and will rate the meaſure of his profits upon the united ſtock of the whole ſociety. This neceſſity will

* About 54,700l. on an average.

appear

appear ſtill more evident, if we conſider how the buſineſs of buying and ſelling is managed in India, and what precautions it requires.

To make a previous agreement for a cargo, above fifty different agents muſt be employed, who are diſperſed in different parts, at the diſtance of three, four, and five hundred leagues from each other. When the work is done, it muſt be examined and meaſured; otherwiſe the goods would ſoon be found faulty, from the want of honeſty in the workmen, who are equally corrupted by the nature of their government, and by the influence of crimes of every kind which the Europeans have ſet them the example of for theſe three centuries paſt.

After all theſe details, there are ſtill other operations remaining equally neceſſary. There muſt be whitſters, men to beat the linens, packers, and bleaching-grounds, which muſt be ſupplied with pools of water fit for the purpoſe. It would certainly be very difficult for individuals, to attend and to obſerve all theſe precautions; but even admitting it poſſible for induſtry to effect this, yet it could only be done as long as each of them could keep up a continued trade, and regularly ſhip off freſh cargoes. All theſe particulars are not to be executed in a ſhort time, and not without eſtabliſhed connections. Every private man, therefore, ſhould be able to fit out a ſhip annually during three years, that is, to diſburſe four millions of livres *. This is evidently impoſſible; and

* 175,000l.

it is plain that ſuch an undertaking can only be carried into execution by a ſociety.

But, perhaps, ſome commercial houſes will be eſtabliſhed in India, on purpoſe to tranſact this previous buſineſs, and to keep cargoes in readineſs for the ſhips that are to be ſent off to Europe.

This eſtabliſhment of trading-houſes at ſix thouſand leagues from the mother-country, with the immenſe ſtock that would be requiſite to pay the weavers in advance, ſeems to be a viſionary ſcheme, inconſiſtent with reaſon and experience. Can it be ſeriouſly imagined that any merchants, who have already acquired a fortune in Europe, will tranſmit it to Aſia to purchaſe a ſtock of muſlins, in expectation of ſhips that, perhaps, may never arrive, or, if they ſhould, may be but few in number, and may not have a ſufficient capital to purchaſe with? On the contrary, we ſee that every European, who has made a ſmall fortune in India, is deſirous of returning home; and, inſtead of endeavouring to increaſe it by thoſe eaſy methods that private trade and the ſervice of the companies offers in that country, he is rather anxious to come and enjoy it with tranquillity in his own.

If other proofs and examples were neceſſary, we need only attend to what paſſes in America. If we could ſuppoſe that commerce, and the hopes of the profits ariſing from it, were capable of alluring rich Europeans to quit their native country, it would certainly be in order to ſettle in that part of the world which is much nearer than Aſia, and where they would find the ſame laws and manners

as

as in Europe. It might naturally be ſuppoſed that the merchants ſhould previouſly buy up the ſugars of the planters, and keep them in readineſs to be delivered to the European ſhips as ſoon as they arrive, on receiving other commodities in exchange, which they would afterwards ſell to the planters when they wanted them. But it is quite the contrary. The merchants ſettled in America are nothing more than commiſſaries or factors, who tranſact the exchanges between the planters and the Europeans; and are ſo far from being able to carry on any conſiderable trade on their own account, that, when a ſhip has not met with an opportunity of diſpoſing of her lading, it is left in truſt, on the account of the owner, in the hands of the commiſſary to whom it was conſigned. It is reaſonable, therefore, to conclude, that what is not practiſed in America would ſtill be leſs ſo in Aſia, where a larger ſtock would be wanted, and greater difficulties muſt be encountered. Add to this, that the ſuppoſed eſtabliſhment of commercial houſes in India would not ſupercede the neceſſity of forming companies in Europe; becauſe it would be equally neceſſary to diſburſe twelve or fifteen hundred thouſand livres * for the fitting out of every ſhip, which could never return into the ſtock till the third year at ſooneſt.

This neceſſity being once proved in every poſſible caſe, it is manifeſt that the trade of India is of ſuch a nature, that very few merchants, if any, can undertake it upon their own bottom, or

* About 60,000l. on an average.

carry it on by themſelves, and without the help of a great number of partners. Having demonſtrated the neceſſity of theſe ſocieties, we muſt now endeavour to prove, that their intereſt and the nature of things would incline them to unite in one and the ſame company.

This propoſition depends upon two principal reaſons: the danger of competition in the purchaſes and ſales, and the neceſſity of aſſortments.

The competition of buyers and ſellers reduces the commodities to their juſt value. When the competition of ſellers is greater than that of buyers, the goods ſell for leſs than they are worth; and, when there are more buyers than ſellers, their price is raiſed beyond their ordinary value. Let us apply this to the India trade.

When we ſuppoſe that this trade will extend in proportion to the number of private ſhips ſent there, we are not aware that this multiplicity will only increaſe the competition on the ſide of the buyers; whereas it is not in our power to increaſe it on the ſide of the ſellers. It is juſt the ſame as if we were to adviſe a number of traders to bid over one another, in order to obtain their goods at a cheaper rate.

The Indians ſcarce make any conſumption of the produce either of our lands or of manufactures. They have few wants, little ambition, and no great ſhare of induſtry. They would readily diſpenſe with the gold and ſilver of America, which is ſo far from procuring them any enjoyments, that it only ſerves to ſupport the tyranny under which

which they are oppreſſed. Thus, as all objects of exchange have no value but in proportion to the wants or the fancy of the exchangers, it is evident that in India our commodities are worth very little, while thoſe we buy there are of great value. As long as no Indian ſhips come into our harbours to carry away our ſtuffs and our metals, we may venture to affirm that thoſe people are not in want of us, and will conſequently make their own terms in all their dealings with us. Hence it follows, that the greater number there are of European merchants who are concerned in this trade, the more the produce of India will riſe, and our own ſink, in value; and that at laſt it will be only by immenſe exports that we ſhall be able to procure any India goods at all. But if, in conſequence of this order of things, each particular ſociety is obliged to export more money, without bringing home more goods, its trade muſt be very diſadvantageous, and the ſame competition that began its ruin in Aſia will complete it in Europe; becauſe the number of ſellers being then greater, while that of buyers ſtill continues the ſame, the ſocieties will be obliged to ſell at a lower price, after having bought at an advanced one.

The article of aſſortments is not of leſs conſequence. By aſſortments is meant the combination of all the ſeveral ſorts of commodities that the different parts of India produce; a combination which is proportioned to the preſent plenty or ſcarcity of each kind of commodity in Europe. On this chiefly depends the ſucceſs and all the profits of the trade.

But

But nothing would be more difficult in the practice for private ſocieties than this aſſortment. How, indeed, ſhould theſe ſmall ſocieties, unconnected with each other, whoſe intereſt it is to conceal their mutual tranſactions, acquire the knowledge that is requiſite for this important purpoſe? How could they direct ſuch a multitude of agents as muſt be employed? It is plain that the ſupercargoes and commiſſaries, incapable of general views, would be all aſking for the ſame ſort of goods at the ſame time, in hopes of making a greater profit. This would of courſe enhance the price of that article in India, and lower it in Europe, to the great detriment of the owners, and of the nation in general.

All theſe conſiderations would certainly be perceived by the captains of ſhips and by the men of property, who would be ſolicited to enter into theſe ſocieties. They would be diſcouraged by the fear of having a competition with other ſocieties, either in the purchaſe, the ſale, or the making-up of the aſſortments. The number of theſe ſocieties would ſoon be reduced; and trade, inſtead of extending, would conſtantly decline, and at laſt be entirely loſt.

It would, therefore, be for the intereſt of theſe private ſocieties, as we have before obſerved, to unite together; becauſe then all their agents, both on the coaſt of Coromandel, and on that of Malabar and in Bengal, being united and directed by one conſiſtent ſyſtem, would jointly labour in the ſeveral factories to collect proper aſſortments for the cargoes that were to be ſent away from the chief

chief factory, so that the whole should make a complete assortment when brought home, being collected upon an uniform plan, and proportioned according to the orders and instructions sent from Europe.

But it would be in vain to expect that any such union could take place without the assistance of government. In some cases, men require to be encouraged; and it is chiefly, as in the present instance, when they are afraid of being denied that protection which they stand in need of, or apprehensive that favours may be granted to others, which may be injurious to them. Government would find it their interest to encourage this association, as it is certainly the surest, if not the only way, to procure, at the most reasonable prices, the India goods that are wanted for home-consumption, and for exportation. This truth will appear more striking from a very simple instance.

Let us suppose a merchant, who freights a ship for India with a considerable stock. Will he commission several agents at the same place to buy the goods he wants? This cannot reasonably be supposed; because he will be sensible, that, each of them endeavouring to execute his orders with as much secrecy as possible, they would necessarily injure one another, and must consequently enhance the price of the goods; so that he would have a less quantity of the commodity for the same sum than if he had employed but one agent. The application is easy; government is the merchant, and the company is the agent.

We have now proved only that in the India trade the nature of things requires that the ſubjects of one country ſhould unite into one company, both for their own intereſt and for that of the ſtate; but nothing has yet appeared, from whence it can be inferred that this company muſt be an excluſive one. We imagine, on the contrary, that the excluſive privilege always granted to theſe companies depends on particular cauſes, which have no eſſential connection with this trade.

When the ſeveral nations in Europe began to find that it was their intereſt to take a part in the trade of India, which individuals refuſed to do, though none were excluded from it, they found themſelves under a neceſſity of forming companies, and giving them every encouragement that ſo difficult an undertaking required. Capitals were advanced to them; they were inveſted with all the attributes of ſovereign power; permitted to ſend ambaſſadors; and empowered to make peace and war; a privilege which, unfortunately for them and for mankind, they have too often exerciſed. It was found neceſſary at the ſame time to ſecure to them the means of indemnifying themſelves for the expences of ſettlements, which muſt be very conſiderable. This gave riſe to excluſive privileges, which at firſt were granted for a term of years; and afterwards made perpetual, from circumſtances which we ſhall now explain.

The brilliant prerogatives granted to the companies, were in fact ſo many impediments to trade. The right of having fortreſſes implied the

the neceſſity of building and defending them; that of having troops implied the obligation of paying and recruiting them. It was the ſame with regard to the permiſſion of ſending ambaſſadors, and concluding treaties with the Indian princes. All theſe privileges were attended with expences merely of parade, fit only to check the progreſs of trade, and to intoxicate the agents and factors ſent by the companies into India, who on their arrival fancied themſelves ſovereigns, and acted accordingly.

NATIONS, however, found it very convenient to have ſome kind of ſettlements in Aſia, which apparently were attended with no coſt; and as it was reaſonable, while the companies bore all the expences, that all the profits ſhould be ſecured to them, the privileges have been continued. But if the ſeveral nations, inſtead of attending only to this pretended œconomy, which could be but temporary, had extended their views to futurity, and connected all the events which muſt naturally be brought about in the courſe of a number of years; they muſt have foreſeen that the expences of ſovereignty, which can never be aſcertained, becauſe they depend upon numberleſs political contingencies, would in time abſorb both the profits and the ſtock of a trading company; that then the public treaſury muſt be exhauſted, to aſſiſt the chartered company; and that this aſſiſtance, being granted too late, could only remedy the miſchiefs that had already happened, without removing the cauſe of them, ſo that the companies would never riſe to any degree of importance.

But why ſhould not ſtates at length be undeceived? Why ſhould they not take upon themſelves a charge which properly belongs to them, and the burden of which, after having cruſhed the companies, muſt finally fall upon them? There would be then no further need of an excluſive privilege. The companies which ſubſiſt at preſent, and are of great importance on account of their old connections and eſtabliſhed credit, ſhould be ſupported with the greateſt care. The appearance of monopoly would vaniſh for ever; and their freedom might enable them to purſue ſome new track, which they could not think of whilſt they were encumbered with the charges annexed to the charter. On the other hand, commerce, being open to all the members of the community, would proſper and flouriſh by their induſtry, new diſcoveries would be attempted, and new enterprizes formed. The trade from one part of India to another, having the certainty of a market in Europe, would become conſiderable and extenſive. The companies, attentive to theſe improvements, would regulate their dealings by the ſucceſs of private trade; and this emulation, which would not be injurious to any individual, would be beneficial to the ſeveral ſtates.

We apprehend this ſyſtem would tend to reconcile all intereſts, and is conſiſtent with all principles. It ſeems to be liable to no reaſonable objection, either on the part of the advocates for the excluſive charter, or of thoſe who contend for a free trade.

If

If the former ſhould aſſert, that the companies without the excluſive charter would have but a precarious exiſtence, and would ſoon be ruined by private traders; I ſhould anſwer them, that they were not ſincere, when they affirmed that private trade could never ſucceed. For, if it could poſſibly occaſion the ruin of that of the companies, as they now pretend, it can only effect this by engroſſing every branch of their trade againſt their will, by a ſuperiority of powers, and by the aſcendent of liberty. Beſides, what is it that really conſtitutes our companies? It is their ſtock, their ſhips, their factories, or their excluſive charter. What is it that has always ruined them? Evtravagant expences, abuſes of every kind, viſionary undertakings; in a word, bad adminiſtration, far more deſtructive than competition. But if the diſtribution of their powers is made with prudence and œconomy, if the ſpirit of property directs their operations, there is no obſtacle which they cannot ſurmount, no ſucceſs which they may not expect.

But would not this ſucceſs give umbrage to the advocates for freedom? Would they not in their turn urge, that thoſe rich and powerful companies would alarm private men, and in ſome meaſure deſtroy that general and abſolute freedom which is ſo neceſſary to trade?

We ſhould not be ſurpriſed at this objection from them; for men, both in their actions and opinions, are more commonly guided by ſyſtem than by facts. I do not except from this error the greateſt part of our writers upon revenue.

Commercial

Commercial and civil liberty are the two tutelar deities of mankind, which we all reverence as well as they. But, that we may not be influenced by mere words, let us attend to the idea they are meant to convey. Let us aſk thoſe enthuſiaſts for liberty, what they would wiſh; whether they would have the laws entirely aboliſh thoſe antient companies, that every citizen might freely partake of this trade, and ſhould equally have the ſame means of procuring the enjoyments of life, and the ſame reſources to raiſe a fortune? But if ſuch laws, with all their appearance of liberty, are in fact totally excluſive, let us not be induced by this falſe reaſoning to adopt them. When the ſtate allows all its members to carry on a trade that requires a large ſtock, and which conſequently very few are able to undertake; I would aſk, what advantage ariſes to the people in general from this regulation? It ſeems as if one meant to laugh at their credulity, in permitting them to undertake what they cannot execute. If the companies are totally ſuppreſſed, there will be no India trade, or it will be only carried on by a few capital merchants.

I WILL go further ſtill, and, waiving the conſideration of the excluſive charter, venture to affirm that the India companies, from the nature of their formation, have given opportunities to ſeveral people to become ſharers in their trade, who would otherwiſe never have been concerned in it. Let us take a review of the number of perſons, in all ſtations and of all ages, that are proprietors, and partake of the profits of the trade,

and it must be owned, that it would have been far more circumscribed if it had been in private hands; that the formation of companies has only diffused while it seemed to restrain it; and that the moderate price of the shares must be a powerful motive to the people, to wish for the preservation of an establishment, which opens to them a track from which they would for ever have been excluded by a free trade.

We believe, indeed, that both companies and private men might equally succeed without injuring one another, or creating any mutual jealousies. The companies might still pursue those great objects, which, by their nature and extent, can only be managed by a wealthy and powerful association. Private men, on the contrary, would confine themselves to such objects as are scarcely attended to by a great company, but might, by proper œconomy, and the combination of many small fortunes, become a source of riches to them.

Statesmen, who by their talents are called to the direction of public affairs, must determine this point, and rectify the ideas of an obscure citizen, who may have been misled by his want of experience. The system of politics cannot too soon nor too deeply be applied to regulate a trade which so essentially concerns the fate of nations, and will, probably, always be an object of the greatest importance.

To put an end to all intercourse between Europe and India, that luxury, which has made such rapid progress in our part of the world, should be ba-

BOOK V.

niſhed from every ſtate. Our effeminacy ſhould not create a thouſand wants unknown to our forefathers. The rivalſhip of trade ſhould no longer agitate the ſeveral nations who vie with each other in amaſſing riches. Such a revolution ſhould take place in the manners, cuſtoms, and opinions of men, as is never likely to happen. We ſhould regulate our actions according to the principles of nature, which we ſeem to have abandoned for ever.

Such are the laſt reflections ſuggeſted to us with reſpect to the connections of Europe with Aſia: let us now turn our thoughts to America.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

Discovery of America. Conquest of Mexico; and settlements of the Spaniards in that part of the new world.

BOOK VI.

Parallel of antient and modern history.

ANTIENT history presents a magnificent scene to our view. The successive representation of great revolutions, heroic manners, and extraordinary events, will become more and more interesting, the more uncommon it is to meet with incidents that bear any resemblance to them. The period of founding and of subverting empires is past. The man, before whom *the world was silent*, is no more. The several nations of the earth, after repeated shocks, after all the struggles between ambition and liberty, seem at length totally reconciled with the wretched tranquillity of servitude. Battles are now fought with cannon for the purpose of taking a few towns, and of gratifying the caprices of a few powerful men: formerly they were fought with the sword, in order to overthrow and to establish kingdoms, or to avenge the natural rights of mankind. The history of the world is become insipid and trifling; and yet men are not become more happy. A regular and constant system of oppression has succeeded to the tumults and storms of conquest; and we behold with a degree

of indifference the various ranks of ſlaves combating each other with their chains, for the amuſement of their maſters.

EUROPE, that part of the globe which has moſt influence over the reſt, ſeems to have fixed itſelf on a ſolid and durable foundation. It is compoſed of communities that are almoſt equally powerful, enlightened, extenſive, and jealous. They will encroach perpetually upon each other; and, in the midſt of this continued fluctuation, ſome will be extended, others more limited, and the balance will alternately incline to different ſides, without ever being entirely deſtroyed. The fanaticiſm of religion, and the ſpirit of conqueſt, thoſe two diſturbers of the univerſe, operate no longer. That great machine, whoſe extremity was attached to the earth, and whoſe centre of motion was in heaven, is now broken: and kings begin to diſcover (though not for the happineſs of their people, for whom they have very little care, but for their own private intereſt) that the great end of government is to obtain riches and ſecurity. Hence large armies are kept up, frontiers are fortified, and trade is encouraged.

A SPIRIT of barter and exchange hath ariſen in Europe, that ſeems to open a vaſt ſcene of ſpeculation to individuals, but is only conſiſtent with peace and tranquillity. A war, among commercial nations, is a conflagration that deſtroys them all; it is a law-ſuit which threatens the fortune of a great merchant, and makes all his creditors tremble. The time is not far off, when the tacit ſanction of government will extend to the private engage-

engagements between subjects of different nations; and when those bankruptcies, the effects of which are felt at immense distances, will become concerns of government. In these mercantile states, the discovery of an island, the importation of a new commodity, the invention of some useful machine, the construction of a port, the establishment of a factory, the carrying off a branch of trade from a rival nation, will all become the most important transactions; and the annals of nations must hereafter be written by commercial philosophers, as they were formerly by historical orators.

THE discovery of a new world was alone sufficient to furnish matter for our curiosity. A vast continent entirely uncultivated, human nature reduced to the mere animal state, fields without harvests, treasures without proprietors, societies without policy, and men without manners, what an interesting and instructive spectacle would these have formed for a Locke, a Buffon, or a Montesquieu! What could have been so astonishing, so delightful, so affecting, as an account of their voyage! But the image of rude unpolished nature is already disfigured. We shall endeavour to collect the features of it, though now half effaced, as soon as we have made the reader acquainted with those rapacious and cruel christians, whom unfortunately chance conducted to this further hemisphere.

Antient revolutions of Spain.

SPAIN, which was known in the first ages under the names of Hesperia and Iberia, was inhabited by people, who, defended on one side by the sea, and on the other by the Pyrenees, enjoyed in peace an

agreeable climate and a fruitful country, and who governed themſelves according to their own cuſtoms. The ſouthern part of this nation had in ſome degree emerged from its ſtate of barbariſm, by ſome trifling connections it had formed with foreigners; but the inhabitants on the coaſts of the ocean reſembled all thoſe nations which know no other occupation but that of the chace. They were ſo much attached to this kind of life, that they left the toils of agriculture to their wives; the fatigues of which they had encouraged them to ſupport by eſtabliſhing general aſſemblies annually, in which thoſe women, who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the labours of agriculture, received public applauſe.

Such was the ſituation of Spain, when the Carthaginians turned their rapacious views upon a country filled with riches, which were unknown to its inhabitants. Theſe merchants, whoſe ſhips covered the Mediterranean, introduced themſelves as friends, who came to barter ſeveral articles of convenience againſt metals that were thought to be uſeleſs. The temptations of a trade ſo advantageous in appearance ſeduced the Spaniards ſo powerfully, that they permitted the Carthaginians to build upon their coaſts houſes for their occaſional reſidence, magazines for the ſecurity of their merchandiſe, and temples for the exerciſe of their religion. Theſe eſtabliſhments inſenſibly became fortified places, of which this power, whoſe policy was ſuperior to its military ſkill, availed itſelf to enſlave a credulous people, who were always divided among themſelves, and always irreconcileable in their enmities. By bribing

bribing ſome, and intimidating others, Carthage ſucceeded in ſubduing Spain, and even effected this with Spaniſh ſoldiers and Spaniſh wealth.

When the Carthaginians were become maſters of the moſt extenſive and moſt valuable part of this fine country, they ſeemed either to be ignorant of the means of eſtabliſhing their dominion there, or to neglect them. Inſtead of continuing to appropriate to themſelves the gold and ſilver, with which the conquered nations were abundantly ſupplied from their mines, by exchanging commodities of little value for thoſe metals, they choſe to ſeize them by force. Nor was this ſpirit of tyranny confined to the body of the republic: the generals, the officers, the private men, and even the merchants, acted upon the ſame principle. The violence of theſe proceedings threw the conquered provinces into a ſtate of deſpair, and excited in thoſe which were yet free an extreme averſion for ſo intolerable a yoke. In this ſituation they all of them reſolved to accept of aſſiſtance, as fatal to them as their injuries were cruel. Spain became a theatre of jealouſy, ambition, and hatred, between Rome and Carthage.

The two commonwealths contended with great obſtinacy for the empire of this beautiful part of Europe; and, perhaps, it would finally have belonged to neither of them, if the Spaniards had continued quiet ſpectators of the conteſt, and left the rival nations time to deſtroy each other. But they choſe to become actors in the bloody ſcene, and thus reduced themſelves to be ſlaves to the

Romans, in which ſtate they remained till the fifth century.

In a ſhort time the degeneracy of thoſe maſters of the world inſpired the ſavage nations of the north with the enterpriſing idea of invading the provinces that were ill-governed and ill-defended. The Suevi, the Alani, the Vandals, and the Goths, paſſed the Pyrenean mountains. Theſe barbarians, being robbers by profeſſion, were incapable of becoming citizens, and made war upon each other. The Goths, ſuperior in abilities or good fortune, ſubdued the reſt, and reduced all the kingdoms of Spain into one; which, notwithſtanding the defects in its conſtitution, and the unbounded extortions of the Jews, who were the only merchants, ſupported itſelf till the commencement of the eighth century.

At this period, the Moors, who had ſubdued Africa with that impetuoſity which was the characteriſtic of all their enterprizes, croſſed the ſea. They found in Spain a king deſtitute of virtue and abilities; a multitude of courtiers, and no ſtateſmen; ſoldiers devoid of courage, and generals without experience; an effeminate people, holding the government in contempt, and diſpoſed to change their maſter; and they alſo found rebels, who joined them for the ſake of plundering, burning, and maſſacring all that oppoſed them. In leſs than three years, the ſovereignty of the chriſtians was deſtroyed; and that of the infidels eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid foundation.

SPAIN was indebted to its conquerors for the firſt principles of taſte, humanity, politeneſs, and philoſophy; as alſo for introducing among them ſeveral arts, and a conſiderable trade. Theſe brilliant proſpects were not of long duration. They were ſoon diſſipated by the numberleſs ſects that aroſe among the conquerors, and the irreparable faults they committed in eſtabliſhing diſtinct ſovereigns in all the principal towns of their dominion.

DURING this time, the Goths, who, to ſcreen themſelves from the power of the Mohammedans, had ſought an aſylum in the extremity of the Aſturias, were labouring under the yoke of anarchy, plunged in a barbarous ſtate of ignorance, oppreſt by their fantaſtical prieſts, languiſhing under inexpreſſible poverty, and perpetually harraſſed by civil wars. Under the influence of theſe calamities, far from thinking to avail themſelves of the diviſions ſubſiſting among their enemies, they were ſufficiently happy in being forgotten, or in not being known by them. But as ſoon as the crown, which was originally elective, became hereditary in the tenth century; as ſoon as the nobility and biſhops became incapable of diſturbing the ſtate; and that the people raiſed from ſlavery were admitted to a ſhare of the government; the national ſpirit began to revive. The Arabians, attacked on every ſide, were ſucceſſively ſtripped of their conqueſts; and at the end of the fifteenth century they had but one little kingdom remaining.

THEIR fall would have been more rapid, had they engaged with a power that could have united

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in one common center the conqueſts it gained over them. But the revolution was not effected in this manner. The Mohammedans were attacked by different chiefs, each of which was at the head of a diſtinct ſtate. Spain was divided into as many kingdoms as it contained provinces; and it was not till after a long time, ſeveral ſucceſſions, wars, and revolutions, that theſe ſmall ſtates were at laſt united in the two monarchies of Caſtile and Arragon. After this, the marriage of Iſabella with Ferdinand having happily joined all the crowns of Spain into one family, they found themſelves equal to the enterpriſe of attacking the kingdom of Granada.

This ſtate, which ſcarcely occupied one eighth part of the peninſula of Spain, had always been in a flouriſhing condition from the time of the invaſion of the Saracens; but its proſperity had increaſed in proportion as the ſucceſſes of the chriſtians had induced a greater number of infidels to take refuge there. It conſiſted of three millions of inhabitants. Throughout the reſt of Europe there were no lands ſo well cultivated; ſo numerous and improved manufactures; ſo regular and ſo extenſive a navigation. The public revenues amounted to ſeven millions of livres *; a prodigious ſum at a time when gold and ſilver were very ſcarce.

These ſeveral advantages, far from deterring the monarchs of Caſtile and Arragon from invading Granada, were the motives that principally incited them to the enterpriſe. They were obliged to carry on a ten years bloody war, in order to ſub-

* About 306,000 l.

due

due this flouriſhing province. The conqueſt of it was completed by the ſurrender of the capital in the beginning of January, 1492.

Columbus forms the deſign of diſcovering America.

It was in theſe glorious circumſtances, that Chriſtopher Columbus, a man of obſcure birth, whoſe knowledge of aſtronomy and navigation was far ſuperior to that of his contemporaries, propoſed to the Spaniards, who were happy at home, to aggrandize themſelves abroad. He was led by a ſecret impulſe to imagine that another continent certainly exiſted, and that he was the perſon deſtined to diſcover it. The idea of Antipodes, which ſuperſtition had condemned as heretical and impious, and reaſon itſelf had treated as chimerical, appeared to this penetrating genius to have its foundation in truth. This idea, perhaps the greateſt that ever entered into the human mind, took ſtrong poſſeſſion of his imagination; and, having in vain propoſed the acquiſition of a new hemiſphere to his native country Genoa, to Portugal where he then reſided, and even to England, which he might have expected would readily have concurred in any maritime enterpriſe, he at laſt communicated his views and his projects to Iſabella.

The miniſters of this princeſs, who looked upon the ſcheme of diſcovering a new world as the offſpring of a diſtempered brain, treated the author of it for ſome time with thoſe airs of contemptuous inſolence, which men in office often put on with thoſe who have nothing but genius to recommend them. But Columbus was not to be diſcouraged by any difficulties; he poſſeſſed, as all men do who engage

engage in extraordinary enterprises, a degree of enthusiasm, which renders them superior to the cavils of the ignorant, the contempt of the proud, the mean arts of the covetous, and the delays of the indolent. At length, by perseverance, spirit, and courage, joined to the arts of prudence and management, he surmounted every obstacle. Having obtained three small vessels, and ninety men, he set sail on the third of August 1492, with the title of admiral and viceroy of the islands and territories he should discover.

HAVING sailed a considerable length of time, the ships crews, terrified with the idea of the immense tract of ocean which lay between them and their native country, began to despair of the success of their undertaking. The discontent rose to that height, that they more than once formed the design of throwing Columbus over-board, and returning to Spain. The admiral concealed his chagrin as long as he could: but, when he found that a mutiny was ready to break out, he assured his companions, that, if he did not discover land in three days, he would sail back to Europe. For some time past, on sounding, he had found a bottom; and from other circumstances, which are seldom deceitful, he had reason to conclude that he was not far from land.

Arrival of Columbus in the new world.

THE new world was discovered in the month of October. Columbus landed on one of the Lucayas, or Bahama islands, which he called San-Salvador, and took possession of it in the name of Isabella. The Spaniards at that time did not conceive that there could be any injustice in seizing upon a country which was not inhabited by christians.

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THE islanders, on seeing the ships, and a race of men so different from their own, were terrified and ran away. The Spaniards caught some of them, treated them with great civility, and dismissed them loaded with presents.

THIS behaviour entirely dissipated the fears of the whole nation: the inhabitants appeared upon the shore without arms. Several of them came on board. They viewed every thing with admiration. Their manners were free and open. They brought fruits. They assisted the Spaniards in getting on shore, by taking them upon their shoulders. The inhabitants of the neighbouring islands shewed the same obliging disposition. The sailors, sent by Columbus to make discoveries, every where met with the kindest reception. Men, women, and children, were employed in procuring provisions for them. They filled the hammocks where they slept with the finest cotton. But it was gold that the Spaniards wanted, and they soon found it. Several of the savages wore ornaments made of this precious metal, which they presented to their new guests; who on their part were more disgusted with the naked appearance and simplicity of these people, than touched with their kindness. They were incapable of discerning in them the genuine characters of nature. Surprized to find men of a copper colour without beards or hair on their bodies, they looked upon them as a race of imperfect animals, who were only to be treated with humanity till the necessary information was obtained in regard to the neighbouring countries, and the gold mines.

HAVING taken a view of ſeveral ſmaller iſlands, Columbus landed on the north ſide of a large one called by the natives Hayti; to which he gave the name of Hiſpaniola, and which is now called San Domingo: he was conducted thither by ſome ſavages of the other iſlands, who accompanied him without the leaſt diſtruſt, and gave him to underſtand, that it was the great iſland which furniſhed them with the metal the Spaniards were ſo eager to acquire.

Cuſtoms of the people of Hayti, ſince known by the name of Hiſpaniola.

THE iſland of Hayti, which is two hundred leagues in length, and ſixty and in ſome places eighty in breadth, is divided from eaſt to weſt by a chain of mountains, which occupy the center of the iſland, and are for the moſt part ſteep. It was diſtributed into five populous kingdoms, the inhabitants of which lived in perfect amity. Their kings, who were called Caciques, were ſo much the more abſolute, as they were much beloved. The complexion of theſe people was much fairer than in the other iſlands. They painted their bodies. The men went quite naked. The married women wore a kind of cotton petticoat, which reached no further than their knees. The girls, as well as the men, were naked. Their food was maize, roots, fruit, and ſhell-fiſh. As they were temperate, nimble, and active, but not ſtrong, they were averſe from labour. They lived free from care in a ſtate of agreeable indolence. Their time was ſpent in dancing, diverſion, and ſleep. By the accounts the Spaniards give of them, they ſhewed little marks of underſtanding; and indeed

iſlanders, who live in a ſtate of ſeparation from the reſt of mankind, muſt of neceſſity have very confined ideas. Detached ſocieties arrive at improvement by ſlow and difficult advances. They derive no advantages from thoſe diſcoveries, which time and experience throw in the way of other people: neither do the chances of acquiring knowledge occur ſo frequently among them.

The Spaniards themſelves confeſs, that theſe people were humane, void of malice and revenge, and almoſt diveſted of any paſſion whatever. They were ignorant, but ſhewed no deſire of being informed. This indifference, and the confidence they repoſed in ſtrangers, prove that they were happy. Their hiſtory, and their notions of morality, were contained in a collection of ſongs, which they learned from their infancy; and they had, in common with all nations, ſome fables concerning the origin of the human race.

We know little of their religion, to which they were not much attached; and it is probable that in this reſpect, as well as in many others, they have been calumniated by the authors of their deſtruction; who pretend that theſe iſlanders, whoſe manners were ſo gentle, paid adoration to a number of malevolent beings. The worſhipers of a malevolent deity can never be good themſelves.

They had no law that limited the number of their wives. It was common for one of them to have ſome privileges and diſtinctions allotted to her; but theſe gave her no authority over the reſt. She was one whom the huſband loved the beſt, and

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by whom he thought himself best beloved. On the death of her husband, she sometimes caused herself to be buried in the same grave with him. This was not a custom, a duty, or a point of honour, among these people: but the wife found it impossible to survive the object of her tendereſt affection. This freedom in love and marriage, which was authorized by their laws and manners, was by the Spaniards called debauchery, licentiousness, and vice: and to the pretended excessive indulgence of the islanders in this particular, they attributed the rise of a distemper, which, as a philosophical physician has lately demonstrated in a treatise on the origin of the venereal disease, was known in Europe before the discovery of America.

These islanders had no other weapons than a bow and arrows made of wood, the point of which being hardened in the fire was sometimes armed with sharp stones, or the bone of a fish. The ordinary dress of the Spaniards was of itself an impenetrable armour against arrows of this kind, shot with little dexterity. These weapons and some small clubs or rather large sticks, which could seldom give a mortal blow, were far from making these people formidable.

They were distinguished into different classes, one of which laid claim to a kind of nobility; but we are little acquainted either with the prerogatives annexed to this distinction, or with the means of obtaining it. This ignorant and savage people had also sorcerers among them, who were always either the offspring or parents of superstition.

Columbus

COLUMBUS omitted no attention that might engage the friendſhip of theſe iſlanders. But at the ſame time he made them ſenſible, that, though he had no inclination to hurt them, he did not want the power. The proofs he gave in their preſence of the ſurpriſing effects of his artillery, convinced them of the truth of what he ſaid. They looked upon the Spaniards as men deſcended from heaven; and the preſents they received were, in their eſtimation, not meer curioſities, but ſacred things. This error was productive of great advantages; nor was it removed by any act of folly or cruelty. They gave the ſavages red caps, glaſs beads, pins, knives, and bells, and received in return gold and proviſions.

COLUMBUS availed himſelf of this harmony to fix upon a place for a ſettlement, which he deſigned ſhould be the center of all his future projects. He erected a fort with the aſſiſtance of the iſlanders, who chearfully laboured to forge chains for themſelves. He left thirty-nine Caſtilians in the place; and, having reconnoitred the greateſt part of the iſland, ſailed for Spain.

HE arrived at Palos, a port of Andaluſia, from whence he had ſet ſail ſeven months before. He proceeded by land to Barcelona, where the court reſided. This journey was a triumph. The nobility and the people went to meet him, and followed him in crouds to the preſence of Ferdinand and Iſabella. He preſented to them ſome iſlanders, who had voluntarily accompanied him. He produced pieces of gold, birds, cotton, and many curioſities, which were valuable on account of their novelty. Such a va-

riety of uncommon objects, exposed to the view of a people whose vanity inflamed by imagination magnified every thing, made them fancy that they saw an inexhaustible source of riches for ever flowing into their country. The enthusiasm spread, and reached even to the throne. At the public audience the sovereigns gave to Columbus, he was permitted to be covered, and to sit as a grandee of Spain. He related his voyage to them. They loaded him with caresses, commendations, and honours; and soon after he reimbarked with seventeen sail, to make new discoveries, and to establish colonies.

On his arrival at San Domingo with fifteen hundred soldiers, three hundred artificers, missionaries, corn, fruits, and such domestic animals as were unknown in the new world; Columbus found his fortress demolished, and all the Spaniards massacred. It appeared on examination clear to Columbus, that they had drawn this misfortune upon themselves, by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour: and he had the address to persuade those who had less moderation than himself, that it was good policy to postpone their revenge to another time. They employed themselves entirely in scrutinizing the mines, the working of which was one day to cost so much blood, and in building forts in the neighbourhood with sufficient garrisons to protect their labours.

Cruelties exercised towards the Indians at Hispaniola.

In the mean time, the provisions that had been brought from Europe were spoilt by the damp heat of the climate; and the few hands, sent over for the purpose of raising vegetables in a country so favourable to their growth, were either dead, or disabled

diſabled by ſickneſs. The military men were deſired to ſupply their place; but they diſdained an employment that was to procure them ſubſiſtence. Indolence began then to be an honourable diſtinction in Spain. To do nothing, was eſteemed the characteriſtic of a gentleman; and the meaneſt ſoldier choſe to live in the high ſtile, in a country where he found himſelf independent. The iſlanders offered them every thing, but they required more. They were perpetually aſking them for proviſions and gold. In ſhort, theſe unfortunate people at laſt grew tired of gardening, hunting, fiſhing, and working in the mines, to gratify the inſatiable Spaniards; and from that moment they were conſidered in no other light but that of traitors and rebellious ſlaves, whoſe lives might be taken away at pleaſure.

Columbus, finding that the Indians were exaſperated by this barbarous treatment, returned from purſuing his diſcoveries, in hopes of bringing the parties to a reconciliation; but the mutinous clamours of a fierce and rapacious ſoldiery drove him into hoſtilities, which were contrary to his ſentiments both as a man and as a politician. With two hundred foot and twenty horſe he ventured to attack an army, ſaid to conſiſt of a hundred thouſand men, on the ſpot where the city of St. Jago was afterwards built.

The unhappy Indians were conquered before they engaged. They conſidered the Spaniards as beings of a ſuperior order. Their admiration, reſpect, and fear, were increaſed by the European armour; and the ſight of the cavalry in particular

aſtoniſhed them beyond meaſure. Many of them were ſimple enough to believe that the man and the horſe were the ſame animal, or a kind of deity. Had their courage even been proof againſt theſe impreſſions of terror, they could have made but a faint reſiſtance. The cannonading, the pikes, and a diſcipline to which they were ſtrangers, muſt have eaſily diſperſed them. They fled on all ſides. They demanded peace; which was granted them, on condition that they ſhould cultivate the land for the Spaniards, and furniſh them with a certain quantity of gold every month.

These hard terms, and the cruelties that aggravated them, ſoon became inſupportable. To ſcreen themſelves from them, the iſlanders took refuge in the mountains, where they hoped to procure the ſmall ſubſiſtence their neceſſities required by hunting and gathering wild fruits, till their enemies, who each of them required more nouriſhment than ten Indians, finding themſelves deprived of proviſions, ſhould be obliged to repaſs the ſeas. But they were diſappointed in their expectations. The Caſtilians ſupported themſelves by the ſupplies they received from Europe, and purſued their horrid plan with more eagerneſs than ever. No place was inacceſſible to their rage. They trained their dogs to hunt and devour the unhappy inhabitants; and ſome of them made a vow to maſſacre twelve Indians every day in honour of the twelve Apoſtles. By theſe means a third part of theſe nations was deſtroyed. On their arrival, the iſland was ſuppoſed to contain a million of inhabitants.

All

All accounts agree that this number is not exaggerated; and it is certain that the population was considerable.

Those who did not fall a prey to misery, fatigue, apprehension, and the sword, were forced to submit to the will of the conqueror, who exercised his power with more rigour, as it was not now restrained by the presence of Columbus. This great man was returned to Spain, to inform the court of the barbarities which the character of the people under his command made it impossible for him to prevent, and which the voyages he was perpetually engaged in did not allow him to controul. During his absence, the colony, which he had left under his brother's command, was torn by dissentions, animosities, and mutinies. No orders were obeyed, unless when some cacique was to be dethroned, some hord pillaged or demolished, or some nation extirpated. The moment these savage troops had got possession of the treasures of these unhappy people whom they had massacred, the disturbances were renewed. The desire of independence, and the unequal distribution of the spoils, created dissentions among these rapacious conquerors. Authority was no longer respected; the subalterns paid as little regard to their commanders, as the commanders did to the laws; and open war at last broke out among themselves.

The Indians, who sometimes bore a part in these bloody and detestable scenes, and were always witnesses of them, recovered their courage a little. Their simplicity did not prevent them from perceiving

ceiving that it was by no means impracticable to rid themſelves of a ſmall number of tyrants, who appeared to have loſt ſight of their projects, and attended to nothing but the implacable hatred they bore to one another. Animated by this hope, they embarked in a confederacy, which was managed with more art than could have been ſuſpected, and which had acquired conſiderable ſtrength. The Spaniards, who perſiſted in deſtroying each other notwithſtanding they were threatened by ſo great a danger, would probably have fallen victims to their own obſtinacy, had not Columbus arrived from Europe at this critical juncture.

The diſtinguiſhed reception he had met with there at firſt had made but a tranſitory impreſſion upon the people; time, which brings on reflection when the firſt tranſports of enthuſiaſm are paſſed, had diſſipated that eagerneſs which had at firſt been ſhewn for expeditions to the new world. The report of the riches, and even the oſtentatious diſplay of the treaſures brought from thence, no longer revived the ſpirit of the people: on the contrary, the livid complexions of all thoſe who returned home; the ſevere and diſgraceful diſtempers with which moſt of them were afflicted; the accounts of the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, of the numbers who had loſt their lives, and the hardſhips they had undergone from the ſcarcity of proviſions; an unwillingneſs to be under the command of a foreigner, who was blamed for the ſeverity of his diſcipline; and, perhaps, the jealouſy they entertained of his growing reputation; all theſe reaſons contributed

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to produce an inſuperable prejudice againſt San Domingo in the ſubjects of the province of Caſtile, the only Spaniards who were then allowed to embark for that iſland.

It was abſolutely neceſſary, however, to procure coloniſts; the admiral therefore propoſed to have recourſe to the priſons, and, by reſcuing the vileſt malefactors from death and infamy, to make them the inſtruments of extending the power of their country, of which they had been the bane and diſgrace. This project would have been attended with fewer inconveniences in ſuch colonies as, having gained a more ſolid eſtabliſhment, might, by the force of their laws and the purity of their manners, have reſtrained or corrected the exceſſes of a few licentious and profligate individuals; but infant ſtates require founders of a different character from a train of banditti. America will never get rid of the remains of that alloy which debaſed the firſt colonies that were tranſported thither from Europe. Columbus ſoon experienced the ill effects of the injudicious advice he had given.

Had this enterpriſing ſeaman carried out with him men of the common ſtamp, he might, during the voyage, have inſpired them with honeſt principles at leaſt, if not with high notions of honour. Theſe perſons on their arrival would have conſtituted a majority, and the reſt would have been forced, or perhaps inclined, to adopt the examples of moderation and obedience they would have ſet them. Such a harmony would have been productive of the moſt ſalutary effects, and have eſta-

bliſhed the colony on the moſt ſolid foundation. The Indians would have been treated in a better manner, the mines worked to greater advantage, and the taxes more eaſily levied. The mother-country, animated by this ſucceſs to the greateſt attempts, might have formed new ſettlements, which would have augmented the glory, the wealth, and the power of Spain. Theſe important events, which might have been brought forward in a few years, were rendered abortive by this ſingle piece of miſmanagement.

THE malefactors who accompanied Columbus, in conjunction with the plunderers at San Domingo, formed a ſociety the moſt abandoned imaginable. They were ſtrangers to ſubordination, decency, and humanity. The admiral in particular was the object of their reſentment, who perceived too late the falſe ſtep he had taken himſelf; or into which, perhaps, he had been betrayed by his enemies. This extraordinary man purchaſed upon very hard terms the fame which his genius and induſtry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual contraſt between thoſe incidents which either elate or depreſs the mind of a conqueror. He was not only continually expoſed to cabals, calumnies, and the ingratitude of individuals; but was alſo obliged to ſubmit to the caprices of a haughty and ſuſpicious court, which by turns rewarded or puniſhed, careſſed or diſgraced him.

THE prejudice, entertained by the Spaniſh miniſtry againſt the author of the greateſt diſcovery ever

ever made, operated so far, that an arbitrator was sent to the new world, to decide between Columbus and his soldiers. Bovadilla, the most ambitious, self-interested, unjust, and violent man that had yet gone over to America, arrived at San Domingo, put the admiral in irons, and had him conducted to Spain like the worst of criminals. The court, ashamed of so ignominious a treatment, granted him his liberty; but without redressing the injury he had received, or restoring him to his employments. Such was the fate of this uncommon man, who, to the astonishment of Europe, added a fourth part to the earth, or rather half a world to this globe, which had been so long desolate, and so little known. It might reasonably have been expected, that public gratitude would have given the name of this intrepid seaman to the new hemisphere, the first discovery of which was owing to his enterprising genius. This was the least homage of respect that could be paid to his memory: but either through envy, inattention, or the caprice of fortune in the distribution of fame, this honour was reserved for Americus Vespucius, a Florentine, who did nothing more than follow the footsteps of a man whose name ought to stand foremost in the list of great characters. Thus the very æra, which added America to the known world, was distinguished by an instance of injustice, that may be considered as a fatal prelude to those scenes of violence of which this unhappy country was afterwards to be the theatre.

AFTER the disgrace of Columbus, and the death of Isabella, these abuses became more frequent.

The islanders, though condemned to the excessive labours of vassalage, which often proved fatal to them, and to pay the most exorbitant fines, had hitherto continued to live in their hords, after the manner of the country, and under the government of their caciques. In the year 1506, Ferdinand was petitioned to make a distribution of these people among the conquerors, that they might be employed in the mines, or in any other kinds of labour that tyranny might think proper to impose. Religion and political views were the two pretences made use of to palliate this inhuman plan. It was urged, that so long as these savages were tolerated in their superstitions, they would never embrace christianity; and would always be in a disposition to revolt, unless their dispersion put it out of their power to make any attempt. The monarch, relying on the opinion of the clergy, whose intolerant principles always led them into violent measures, complied with the request that was made him. The whole island was divided into a great number of districts. Every Spaniard, whether a native of Castile or Arragon, was indiscriminately allotted a larger or smaller part, in proportion to his rank, interest, or birth. The Indians assigned to each district from this instant became slaves, whose services and lives were at the disposal of their masters. This cruel system was afterwards adopted in all the settlements in the new world.

The produce of the mines was now more certain. At first one half belonged to the crown. This

This claim was afterwards reduced to one third, and at length limited to a fifth part.

THE treaſures brought from San Domingo excited the avarice even of thoſe who would not venture to croſs the ſeas. The grandees, and thoſe who had employments in the ſtate, obtained grants of land by which they enriched themſelves without any trouble. They committed the care of them to agents who were to make their own fortunes, while they increaſed thoſe of their principals. Impoſſible as it ſeemed, there was now an augmentation of cruelties. In five years after this barbarous ſyſtem took place, the natives were reduced to fourteen thouſand; and the continent and the adjacent iſlands were ranſacked for ſavages to ſupply their place.

THEY were indiſcriminately chained together like beaſts. Thoſe who ſank under their burdens were compelled to riſe by ſevere blows. No intercourſe paſſed between the ſexes but by ſtealth. The men periſhed in the mines; and the women in the fields, which they cultivated with their weak hands. Their conſtitutions, already exhauſted with exceſſive labour, were ſtill further impaired by an unwholeſome and ſcanty diet. The mothers expired with hunger and fatigue, preſſing their dead or dying infants to their breaſts, ſhriveled and contracted for want of a proper ſupply of milk. The fathers either poiſoned themſelves, or hanged themſelves on thoſe very trees on which they had juſt before ſeen their wives or their children expire. The whole race became extinct.

THE

THE Spaniards, before their firſt ſettlements in the new world were laid waſte by theſe ſcenes of horror, had formed ſome of leſs note at Jamaica, Porto-Rico, and Cuba. Velaſquez, who founded the laſt of theſe, was deſirous that his colony ſhould enjoy, together with that of San Domingo, the advantage of making diſcoveries upon the continent, and he fixed upon Francis Hernandez of Cordova to conduct this glorious undertaking. He furniſhed him with three veſſels and a hundred and ten men, with permiſſion to erect forts, to bring off ſlaves, or to export gold, at his own diſcretion. This voyage, which was made in 1517, was productive of no event except the diſcovery of the Yucatan.

JOHN of Gryalva, who was ſent out the following year with a view of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of this country, diſcharged his commiſſion with ability; but he did not confine himſelf to this object: he ſurveyed the coaſt of Campeachy, purſued his voyage ſtill further north, and landed wherever he found a convenient ſpot. Though he did not always meet with a favourable reception, his expedition proved extremely ſucceſsful. He brought home a great quantity of gold, and acquired a ſufficient inſight into the extent, opulence, and ſtrength of Mexico.

Cortez ſets out for the conqueſt of Mexico. What happened to him off Tabaſco.

THE conqueſt of this vaſt empire appeared too great an undertaking for a man of Gryalva's abilities. Fernando Cortez, who was more diſtinguiſhed on account of the expectations that were entertained of his future conduct, than by the great ſervices he had already performed, was unanimouſly

nimouſly fixed upon to carry this plan into execution. According to the repreſentation given of him by his adherents, it appears, that he had ſuch an uncommon ſtrength of conſtitution, that he was able to undergo the greateſt fatigues; that he poſſeſſed the talent of eloquence in an eminent degree; a ſagacity which foreſaw every thing; a preſence of mind not to be diſturbed by the moſt unexpected events; that he was fruitful in expedients; that he knew how to reduce thoſe to ſubjection who refuſed to liſten to terms of accommodation; that he purſued with invariable ſteadineſs the point he had in view; and that he was animated with that enthuſiaſtic love of glory, which has ever been conſidered as the leading qualification in a hero. This advantageous idea of Cortez has long prevailed among the generality of people, whoſe judgements are, and muſt ever be, regulated by the ſole ſtandard of ſucceſs. But, ſince philoſophy has thrown a new light upon hiſtory, it is become a matter of doubt whether the faults of Cortez did not overbalance his great qualities.

Be this, however, as it may, Cortez, who was afterwards ſo celebrated, was no ſooner inveſted by Velaſquez with the command of the moſt important expedition that had hitherto been undertaken to the new world, than all men who felt a propenſity for acquiring fortune or fame crouded about him. Having ſurmounted the obſtacles which jealouſy and enmity threw in his way, he ſet ſail on the 10th of February 1519. His forces conſiſted of five hundred and eight ſoldiers, a hundred

dred and nine ſailors with their proper officers, ſome cavalry, and a ſmall train of artillery. This armament, inconſiderable as it was, was not equipped by government, which only lent the ſanction of its name to the attempts that were made to diſcover new countries, and form new ſettlements. Theſe enterpriſes were all carried on at the expence of private perſons, who were ruined if they failed in them; while their ſucceſs enlarged the dominion of the mother-country After the firſt expeditions, the ſtate neither formed any plan, nor advanced any money, nor raiſed any troops. The thirſt of gold, and the ſpirit of chivalry which ſtill prevailed, were the only incitements to induſtry and activity. The influence of theſe, however, was ſo powerful, that not only the common people, but great numbers of diſtinguiſhed rank, flew with impatience to mix with ſavages in the torrid zone, and frequently in an unwholeſome climate. There were, perhaps, at that time, no people upon earth beſides the Spaniards ſo frugal, ſo much inured to fatigue, or ſo accuſtomed to the intemperature of a hot climate, as to be able to endure ſo many hardſhips.

Cortez, who poſſeſſed theſe qualities in an eminent degree, attacked the Indians at Tabaſco as he marched along, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, granted them peace, entered into an alliance with them, and brought away ſeveral of their women, who were glad to follow him. This readineſs of theirs may be accounted for very naturally.

In

In America the men were in general addicted to that shameful kind of debauchery which shocks nature, and perverts animal instinct. This depravity has been attributed by some to natural weakness, which, however, should rather seem to be contrary than incentive to it. It may rather be aseribed to the heat of the climate; the contempt the men have for the softer sex; the little pleasure that can be experienced in the arms of a woman harrassed with labour; the inconstancy of taste; the caprice which incites us in every particular to enjoyments that are least common; and inspires us with certain inordinate propensities to voluptuousness, more easy to be conceived than explained with decency. Besides, those hunting parties, in which the men are frequently absent from the women for two months, have also contributed to familiarize men more with each other. This vice is therefore in these countries nothing more than the consequence of an universal and violent passion, which even in civilized nations tramples upon honour, virtue, decency, probity, the ties of consanguinity, and patriotic sentiment: besides that, there are some actions to which civilized people have with reason attached moral ideas, that never have entered into the minds of savages.

However this may be, the arrival of the Europeans raised new ideas in the American women. They threw themselves without reserve into the arms of these libidinous strangers, who had inured themselves to cruelty, and whose avaricious hands were drenched in blood. While the unfortunate

remains

remains of these savage nations were endeavouring to separate themselves from the sword that pursued them by immense tracts of deserts, their women, who had been hitherto too much neglected, boldly trampling on the carcases of their children and of their murdered husbands, went to seek their destroyers even in their camp, in order to intice them to share the ardent transports with which they were devoured. This furious attachment of the American women for the Spaniards may be reckoned among the causes that contributed to the conquest of the new world. These women usually served them as guides, frequently procured them subsistence, and sometimes betrayed conspiracies to them.

The most celebrated of these women was named Marina. Though she was the daughter of a pretty powerful cacique, she had been reduced, by some singular events, to a state of slavery among the Mexicans from her earliest infancy. She had been brought, by fresh incidents, to Tabasco before the arrival of the Spaniards. Struck with her figure and her charms, they soon distinguished her from the rest. Their general surrendered his heart to her, and at the same time excited a warm passion in her breast. In the midst of amorous embraces she readily learnt the Spanish language. Cortez, on his part, soon discovered the intelligent mind and resolute character of his mistress; and not only made her his interpreter, but also his adviser. All historians agree that she acted a considerable part in every enterprise against Mexico.

Cortez arrives at Mexico. His engagements with the province of Tlaſcala.

REPORT ſays, that this empire had not then been founded above a century. In order to prove a circumſtance of ſo little credibility, it is neceſſary we ſhould have other teſtimony than that of the Spaniards, who had neither the ability nor the will to examine any thing; and better authority than that of their fanatic prieſts, who wanted to eſtabliſh their own ſuperſtitions, by aboliſhing the worſhip of theſe people. What ſhould we know of China, if the Portugueſe had been able to ſet it on fire, overthrow, or deſtroy it, as they did the Brazils? Should we now converſe about the antiquity of its books, its laws, and its manners? When ſome few philoſophers have been allowed to penetrate into Mexico, there to find out and clear the ruins of their hiſtory, and that theſe learned men ſhall neither be monks nor Spaniards, but Engliſh or Frenchmen, who will be allowed every liberty, and have all the means of getting at the truth; then perhaps we may learn, whether barbariſm has not deſtroyed the antient monuments that might have diſcovered the traces of the antiquity of this country.

OUR lights concerning the founders of the empire are not more certain than thoſe we have with reſpect to the æra of its foundation. This is another of thoſe facts the knowledge of which we have been deprived of by the ignorance of the Spaniards. Their credulous hiſtorians have, indeed, told us, in an uncertain and vague manner, that ſome barbarians who formed a national body, iſſuing from the north of this continent, had ſucceeded in ſubduing

ſucceſſively ſome ſavages born under a milder ſky, and who either did not live in a ſocial ſtate, or formed only ſmall ſocieties.

All that we can affirm is, that Montezuma was the ſovereign of Mexico when the Spaniards landed on the coaſts of that empire. The monarch was ſoon informed of the arrival of theſe ſtrangers. Throughout this vaſt extent of kingdom, couriers were placed at different diſtances, who ſpeedily acquainted the court with every thing that happened in the moſt diſtant provinces. Their diſpatches were compoſed of pieces of cotton, upon which were delineated the ſeveral circumſtances of the affairs that required the attention of government. The figures were intermixed with hieroglyphic characters, which ſupplied what the art of the painter had not been able to expreſs.

It was to be expected, that a prince who had been raiſed to the throne by his valour, who had extended his empire by conqueſt, who was in poſſeſſion of numerous and diſciplined armies, would either ſend to attack, or would have marched himſelf to diſperſe, a handful of adventurers, who dared to infeſt and plunder his dominions. But this ſtep was neglected; and the Spaniards, who had always an irreſiſtible turn to the marvellous, endeavoured to explain, by having recourſe to a miracle, a conduct ſo evidently oppoſite to the character of the monarch, and ſo incompatible with his ſituation. The writers of this ſuperſtitious nation have not ſcrupled to declare to the whole univerſe, that, a little before the diſcovery of the new world, it had been foretold

to

to the Mexicans, that an invincible people from the east would soon come among them, who would in a memorable and terrible manner avenge the gods irritated by their most horrid crimes, and particularly by that vice which is most repugnant to nature. This fatal prediction alone, they say, had fascinated the understanding of Montezuma. By this imposture, they have imagined that they should gain the double advantage of justifying their usurpations, and making heaven answerable for a part of their cruelties. This absurd fable has for a long time obtained credit among some persons in both hemispheres, and the infatuation is not so surprising as might at first be imagined. The reasons of it will be made evident by a few reflections.

The earth has ever been subject to revolutions. Besides its diurnal and annual motion from west to east, it may have another insensible as the lapse of time which produces a revolution from north to south; and which the moderns have just begun to discover, without pretending, however, either to calculate the beginning of it, or to trace its continuation.

This inclination of the earth is only a seeming one, if it be owing to the heavens, which, by a slow motion proportioned to the magnitude of their orbs, attract and draw after them the sun towards the pole: but it is a real one, if our globe, by its natural constitution, verges as it were insensibly towards a point opposite to this secret motion of the heavens: however this may be, by the natural consequence of this inclination, the earth's axis being

conſtantly declining, it may happen, that what we call the oblique ſphere may become a right one, and what was a right ſphere may in its turn become an oblique one—that the countries now lying under the equator might formerly have been under the poles, and what is now the frigid zone may have before been the torrid.

Hence we may conclude, that this great variation in the poſition of the whole body of the earth muſt continually produce a number of particular alterations on its ſurface. The ocean, which acts as the inſtrument of all theſe ſmaller changes, by following this particular inclination of the axis, retires from one tract of land and occupies another, and thus occaſions thoſe inundations or deluges which have ſucceſſively overflowed the face of the globe, which have drowned its inhabitants, and every where left viſible marks of ruin and devaſtation, or laſting memorials of their fatal effects in the annals or traditions of mankind.

This perpetual conteſt of one element with another; of the earth ingulphing the waters in her internal cavities; and of the ſea encroaching upon, and ſwallowing up, large tracts of land; this eternal ſtrife ſubſiſting between two elements apparently incompatible, but in reality inſeparable from each other, expoſes the inhabitants of the globe to evident dangers, and fills them with apprehenſions concerning their fate. The lively recollection of paſt naturally begets a dread of future changes. Hence the univerſal traditions concerning deluges in the earlier ages, and the expectation of the future con-

flagration of the world. The violent agitations which have been felt in every part of the globe, earthquakes occaſioned by inundations, or vulcanos produced by thoſe convulſions, raiſe and keep up terror in the minds of men. This terror has been diffuſed, and received the ſanction of every ſuperſtition from whence it firſt aroſe; and it is obſerved to operate moſt ſtrongly in countries, ſuch as America, where the veſtiges of theſe revolutions of the globe are moſt remarkable and moſt recent.

Man, once poſſeſſed with fear, conſiders a ſingle calamity as the parent of a thouſand others. Earth and heaven ſeem equally to conſpire his ruin: he imagines that he views death both above and beneath him: he looks upon events, which accidentally happen at the ſame juncture, as connected in the nature and the order of things; and, as every tranſaction on this globe muſt neceſſarily appear under the aſpect of ſome conſtellation, the ſtars are accuſed of having a ſhare in every calamity whoſe cauſe is unknown; and the human mind, which has ever been bewildered in its inquiries concerning the origin of evil, has been led to ſuppoſe, that certain ſimilar ſituations of the planets, however common, have an immediate and neceſſary influence on all revolutions happening at the time, or ſoon after ſucceeding.

Political events, in particular, on account of their greater importance to mankind, have ever been conſidered as more immediately depending on the motion of the ſtars. Hence have ariſen falſe predictions, and the terrors they have inſpired; ter-

rors which have always disturbed the earth, and of which ignorance is the cause, and at the same time regulates the degree of them.

Though Montezuma, as well as many other persons, might possibly have been affected with this disease of the human mind, there is no circumstance that can induce us to impute this prevailing weakness to him. His political conduct, however, was not the wiser on this account. Since this prince had been upon the throne, he had no longer displayed any of those talents that had placed him upon it. Sunk in a state of effeminacy and indolence, he despised his subjects, and oppressed his tributaries. His mind was so debased and corrupted, that even the arrival of the Spaniards could not rouze him into action. He wasted in negotiations the time he should have employed in combat, and wished to send away, laden with presents, enemies he ought to have destroyed. Cortez, to whom this supineness was very convenient, omitted nothing that might contribute to encourage it, and always treated with him in the most friendly terms. He declared, that he was sent merely with orders to hold a conference with the powerful emperor of Mexico, on the part of the greatest monarch of the east. Whenever he was pressed to reimbark, he always represented, that no ambassador had ever been dismissed without being admitted to an audience. At length, the deputies, finding him inflexible, were obliged, according to their instructions, to have recourse to menaces, and spoke in high terms of the opulence and strength of their country. Cortez then,

turning to his ſoldiers, told them: *This is exactly what we wiſh to meet with, great dangers and great wealth.* He had then completed all his preparatives, and gained every information that was neceſſary. Reſolved therefore to conquer or to periſh, he ſet fire to all his ſhips, and directed his march to the capital of the empire.

In his way he met with the republic of Tlaſcala, which had ever been in enmity with the Mexicans, who wanted to make it ſubject to their empire. Cortez, not doubting but that they would favour his projects, demanded permiſſion to paſs through their country, and propoſed an alliance; both which were refuſed, for reaſons that we never have been acquainted with. The ſurpriſing accounts given of the Spaniards aſtoniſhed the inhabitants of Tlaſcala, but did not diſmay them. They fought four or five battles; in one of which the Spaniſh troops were broken, and in danger of being defeated, had not ſome diſſentions happened in the enemy's army. Cortez was obliged to intrench himſelf; and the Tlaſcalans, who wanted nothing but arms to make them victorious, ruſhed to death upon his breaſt-works.

Another circumſtance, which contributed not a little to their defeat, was a certain point of honour dictated by the feelings of common humanity, adopted by the Greeks at the ſiege of Troy, and by ſome people among the Gauls; and eſtabliſhed among ſeveral nations. This was the dread and diſgrace of ſuffering the dead or the wounded to be carried off by the enemy. An attention to this point

occaſioned a continual confuſion in their army, and abated the vigour of their attacks.

THE form of government among theſe people was very ſingular, and in many reſpects at leaſt may be propoſed as an excellent model. The country was divided into ſeveral diſtricts, over which princes preſided with the title of Caciques. They led their ſubjects to war, levied taxes, and adminiſtered juſtice: but it was neceſſary that their laws and edicts ſhould have the ſanction of the ſenate of Tlaſcala, in which the ſupreme authority reſided. This body was compoſed of citizens choſen out of each diſtrict by an aſſembly of the people.

THE morals of the Tlaſcalans were extremely ſevere. Falſhood, filial ingratitude, and ſodomy, were puniſhed with death. Polygamy was tolerated by law. Their climate led to it, and the government encouraged it.

MILITARY merit here, as in all uncivilized ſtates, or ſuch as aſpire to conqueſt, was in the higheſt eſteem. In their warlike expeditions they carried in their quivers two arrows, on which were engraven the figures of two of their antient heroes. They began the engagement by diſcharging one of theſe arrows, which it was a point of honour to recover. In their towns they wore a dreſs, which they laid aſide when they went to battle. They were celebrated for ſimplicity and ſincerity in their public treaties, and the veneration they paid to old men. Theft, adultery, and drunkenneſs, were held in deteſtation; and the perſons guilty of thoſe crimes were doomed to baniſhment. No ſtrong liquors were allowed to be drunk by any but veterans, exhauſted by the fatigues of war.

THE

THE Tlaſcalans had their pleaſure-gardens and their baths. They were fond of dancing, poetry, and theatrical amuſements. One of their principal divinities was the goddeſs of love, who had a temple erected to her, where the whole nation reſorted to the celebration of her feſtivals.

THEIR country was not of any great extent, nor was it the moſt fertile ſpot in that part of the world. Though mountainous, it was well cultivated, very populous, and very happy.

SUCH were the people whom the Spaniards diſdained to acknowledge of the ſame ſpecies with themſelves. One of the qualities of the Tlaſcalans, which excited their contempt the moſt, was the love of liberty. They fancied that theſe people had no government, becauſe it was not veſted in a ſingle perſon; no police, becauſe it differed from that of Madrid; no virtues, becauſe they were not of the ſame religious perſuaſion; and no underſtanding, becauſe they did not adopt the ſame opinion.

PERHAPS, no people have ever been ſo firmly attached to their national prejudice, as the Spaniards were at that time, and as they ſtill continue to be. By theſe prejudices all their ſentiments were dictated, their judgments influenced, and their characters formed. The ſtrong and ardent genius they derived from nature, ſerved only to aſſiſt them in inventing ſophiſms to confirm them in their errors. Never was the perverſion of human reaſon maintained in a more dogmatical, determined, obſtinate, and artful manner: nor was their attachment to their cuſtoms leſs ſtrong than to

their

their prejudices. They thought no people in the world were intelligent, enlightened, and virtuous, except themſelves. This national pride, carried to an exceſs of infatuation beyond example, would have inclined them to conſider Athens in the ſame contemptuous light as they did Tlaſcala. They would have treated the Chineſe as brutes, and have every where left marks of outrage, oppreſſion, and devaſtation.

THIS haughty and imperious turn of mind did not, however, prevent the Spaniards from making an alliance with the Tlaſcalans, who furniſhed them with troops to conduct their march and ſupport them in their enterpriſe.

Cortez advances towards Mexico. Manners, religion, government, and riches of the empire, at the arrival of the Spaniards.

WITH this reinforcement, Cortez advanced towards the capital city, through a fertile country watered by fine rivers, and interſperſed with towns, woods, cultivated fields, and gardens. The ſoil produced a variety of plants unknown in Europe. Birds of the brighteſt plumage, and animals of a new ſpecies, appeared in great abundance. Nature only changed her appearance, by aſſuming a more agreeable and richer dreſs. The temperature of the air, and the continual heats, which were not inſupportable, preſerved the earth in conſtant verdure and fertility. On the ſame ſpot were ſeen trees covered with bloſſoms, and others with delicious fruits; and the corn that was ſown in one field was reaped in another.

THE Spaniards ſeemed to be inſenſible to the beauties of ſo new a ſcene. They ſaw that gold was the common ornament of the houſes and temples;

ples; that the arms, furniture, and perſons, of the Mexicans, were adorned with the ſame metal. This alone attracted their notice, like Mammon, whom Milton deſcribes as forgetting the Divinity in Heaven itſelf, and having his eyes always fixed upon its golden porches.

MONTEZUMA's wavering diſpoſition, and, perhaps, the fear of ſtaining his former glory, prevented him from marching againſt the Spaniards at their arrival, and from joining the Tlaſcalans, who had behaved with greater courage than he had done; and, laſtly, from attacking conquerors who were fatigued with their own victories. He had contented himſelf with endeavouring to divert Cortez from his deſign of viſiting his capital, and reſolved at laſt to introduce him into it himſelf. Thirty kings or princes were ſubject to his dominion, many of whom were able to bring a numerous army into the field. He poſſeſſed immenſe riches, and his power was abſolute. It is ſaid that his ſubjects were intelligent, enlightened, polite, and induſtrious. They were alſo a warlike people, and had high notions of honour.

HAD the emperor of Mexico known how to avail himſelf of theſe advantages, the ſceptre could never have been wreſted out of his hands. But this prince, forgetting what he owed to himſelf and to his ſtation, did not ſhew the leaſt inſtance of courage, or ability, by the exertion of his whole force when he might have cruſhed the Spaniards, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in diſcipline and arms; he rather choſe to have recourſe to perfidy.

WHILE

WHILE he loaded them with preſents, careſſes, and every token of reſpect at Mexico, he gave orders to attack Vera-Cruz, a colony the Spaniards had eſtabliſhed with a view of ſecuring their retreat, and of being furniſhed with ſupplies. Cortez acquainted his companions with the news, and told them, "That it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſurpriſe "theſe barbarians with ſome extraordinary exploit; "and that he reſolved to ſeize the emperor, and "make himſelf maſter of his perſon." This deſign being approved, he inſtantly marched with his officers to Montezuma's palace, and told him he muſt either follow him, or die. The prince, whoſe puſillanimity could only be equalled by the raſhneſs of his enemies, reſigned himſelf into their hands. He was obliged to conſent to the puniſhment of the generals, who had acted only in obedience to his orders; and completed his diſgrace, by ſubmitting to do homage to the king of Spain.

IN the midſt of this ſucceſs, Cortez received advice that Narvaez was diſpatched by the governor of Cuba, with a ſmall army, to ſuperſede him in his command. He marched towards his rival, engaged, and took him priſoner. He ordered the vanquiſhed to lay down their arms, but afterwards reſtored them, and propoſed that they ſhould follow him. He gained their affections by his confidence and magnanimity; and the army of Narvaez inliſted under his ſtandard. He then returned to Mexico, where he had left two hundred men to guard the emperor.

COMMOTIONS were excited among the nobility of Mexico, whoſe indignation was raiſed at the captivity

tivity of their prince; and the indiſcreet zeal of the Spaniards having prompted them to diſturb a public feſtival, celebrated in honour of the deities of the country, by deſtroying their altars, and making a maſſacre of the worſhipers and prieſts, had provoked the people to take up arms.

THE ſuperſtition of the Mexicans was the only mark of barbariſm among them; their prieſts, however, who were a diſgrace to humanity, made a moſt ſcandalous abuſe of that abominable worſhip, which they had impoſed upon the credulity of the people. This government, like all other civilized nations, acknowledged a ſupreme Being, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: but theſe uſeful doctrines were diſgraced by a mixture of abſurdities, which deſtroyed their credibility.

THE religious ſyſtem of the Mexicans taught them to expect the final cataſtrophe of the world at the concluſion of every century; and that year was diſtinguiſhed throughout the whole empire by every mark of grief and conſternation. The Mexicans invoked inferior powers in the ſame manner as other nations have invoked Genii, Camis, Manitous, Angels, and Fetiches. The loweſt of this claſs of deities had all their temples, images, functions, and diſtinct authority aſſigned them, together with the power of working miracles.

THE Mexicans had alſo their holy water to ſprinkle the people; and the emperor drank of it. Pilgrimages, proceſſions, and donations to the prieſts, were eſteemed acts of piety: and they were no ſtrangers to expiations, penances, mortifications, and

and abſtinence. They had ſome ſuperſtitious obſervances peculiar to themſelves. A ſlave was annually choſen, and ſhut up in the temple; to him they paid adoration, offered incenſe, invoked him as a deity, and concluded the ſcene by putting him to death with great ſolemnity. Another piece of ſuperſtition, of which no traces are to be found in any other country, was this: on certain days the prieſt made a ſtatue of paſte, which they ſent to the oven; they placed it upon an altar, where it became a divinity. Upon this day innumerable crouds of people flocked to the temple. The prieſts cut the ſtatue in pieces, and diſtributed a portion of it to all the perſons in the aſſembly, who ate it, and thought they were ſanctified by ſwallowing their god.

It was certainly more eligible to eat gods than men; and yet the Mexicans ſacrificed their priſoners of war in the temple of the god of battles. The prieſts, it is ſaid, afterwards ate them, and ſent portions to the emperor, and the principal lords of the realm. When peace had laſted ſome time, the prieſts took care to have it inſinuated to the emperor, that the gods were periſhing with hunger; and war was commenced with no other view than to make priſoners. Such a ſyſtem of religion was in every view odious and terrible; and all its ceremonies were of a diſmal and ſanguinary caſt. It kept mankind perpetually in awe, was calculated to make a people cruel, and to give the prieſts an unlimited authority. Theſe barbarous abſurdities, though they might juſtly excite

excite the deteſtation of the Spaniards, could not juſtify their attempts to ſuppreſs them by the greateſt cruelties. They could not juſtify them in attacking and murdering a people aſſembled in the principal temple of the capital; or in aſſaſſinating the nobles in order to ſeize upon their poſſeſſions.

On his return to Mexico, Cortez found the Spaniards beſieged in the palace, where he had left them to guard the emperor. It was not without difficulty that he opened a paſſage to join them; and, when he was at their head, he was obliged to ſuſtain many powerful attacks. The Mexicans gave proofs of extraordinary courage. They chearfully devoted themſelves to certain death. Naked and ill-armed, they threw themſelves into the ranks of the Spaniards, with a view of making their arms uſeleſs, or wreſting them out of their hands. Several attempted to enter Cortez's palace by the embraſures, where the cannon were placed; and there was not a man who would not have courted death to procure the deliverance of his country from the tyranny of theſe foreign uſurpers. Cortez, having taken poſſeſſion of a temple which was an advantageous poſt, was viewing from a platform the engagement in which the Indians fought deſperately for the recovery of their loſt liberty, when two young Mexican noblemen threw away their arms, and came over to him as deſerters. Placing one knee on the ground in a ſuppliant poſture, they ſeized him, and threw themſelves from

from the platform, in hopes of making him periſh by dragging him along with them. Cortez diſengaged himſelf from them, and kept his ſtation by laying hold of the baluſtrade; and the two Mexicans died victims of this noble but fruitleſs enterprize.

This, and ſome other exploits which ſhewed equal courage, made the Spaniards deſirous of coming to terms of accommodation. At length Montezuma conſented to become the inſtrument of his people's ſlavery, and appeared upon the rampart to perſuade his ſubjects to retire. Their reſentment convinced him that his reign was at an end, and he was mortally wounded by the ſhower of arrows they diſcharged at him.

The ſucceſſor to this mean monarch was of a haughty and intrepid diſpoſition. He united judgment with readineſs of conception. He knew how to retrieve his affairs, and to defend himſelf in circumſtances of danger. His ſagacity diſcovered to him the difficulty of gaining any advantage over an enemy, ſo ſuperior in their weapons, by vigorous attacks; and he thought it the beſt expedient to reduce them by famine. Cortez no ſooner perceived this change of meaſures, than he thought of ſecuring a retreat into the country of Tlaſcala.

The execution of this project required great diſpatch, impenetrable ſecrecy, and well-concerted meaſures. The march was begun in the middle of the night: the army was ſilently filing off along a bank, when it was found that its

its motions had been obſerved with a ſpirit of diſguiſe, of which the Mexicans were thought incapable. His rear guard was attacked by a numerous body, and the flanks by the canoes diſtributed on each ſide of the cauſeway. If the Mexicans, who had a greater number of troops than they could bring into action, had taken the precaution to place a part of them at the extremity of this cauſeway, or even to break it, all the Spaniards would inevitably have periſhed in this bloody engagement. Fortunately for them, the enemy knew not how to avail himſelf of all his advantages; and they at length reached the borders of the lake, after having undergone a variety of incredible dangers and fatigues. The confuſion they were in ſtill expoſed them to a total defeat, when they were relieved from this danger by a freſh error of the enemy.

No ſooner had the morning diſcovered to the Mexicans the field of battle, of which they were maſters, than they perceived among the ſlain two of Montezuma's ſons, whom the Spaniards were carrying off with ſome other priſoners. This ſight chilled them with horror. The idea of having maſſacred the children, after having ſacrificed the father, was too violent for men, enfeebled and enervated by a habit of blind obedience, to be able to bear. They were afraid of adding impiety to regicide; and employed in idle funeral rites the time they owed to the preſervation of their country.

During this interval, the beaten army, which had loſt two hundred Spaniards, a thouſand Tlaſcalans,

calans, the greater part of their artillery, and which had ſcarce a ſoldier remaining that was not wounded, was reſuming its march. The enemy ſoon purſued, harraſſed, and at length ſurrounded it in the valley of Otumba. The cannonade, and the firing of the ſmall arms, the pikes and ſwords, did not prevent the Indians, all naked as they were, from advancing and charging their enemies with great fury. Courage was juſt upon the point of yielding to numbers, when Cortez himſelf determined the fortune of the day. He had been informed, that in this part of the new world the fate of the battle depended upon the royal ſtandard. Theſe colours, the form of which was remarkable, and which were never brought into the field but on the moſt important occaſions, were at no great diſtance from him. He immediately ruſhed forward, with the braveſt of his companions, to take them from the enemy. One of them ſeized and carried them into the Spaniſh ranks. The Mexicans immediately loſt all courage; and, throwing down their arms, betook themſelves to flight. Cortez purſued his march, and arrived in the country of Tlaſcala without oppoſition.

Cortez did not relinquiſh either the deſign or the hopes of ſubduing the empire of Mexico; but he adopted a new plan; and propoſed to make one part of the inhabitants aſſiſt him in the reduction of the other. The form of the Mexican government, the diſpoſition of the people, and the ſituation of the city, favoured his project, and facilitated the execution of it.

The

THE empire was elective, and certain princes or caciques were the electors. They uſually choſe one of their own body. He was obliged to take an oath, that, ſo long as he filled the throne, the rains ſhould fall in due ſeaſon, the rivers cauſe no inundations, the fields be exempt from ſterility, and that mankind ſhould not be deſtroyed by the malignant effects of a contagious air. This cuſtom may have had ſome reference to a theocratical government, the traces of which are ſtill to be found almoſt among all the nations in the world. It might likewiſe probably be the intention of this whimſical oath, to intimate to the new ſovereign, that, as the misfortunes of a ſtate almoſt always ariſe from wrong meaſures of adminiſtration, his government ought to be conducted with ſuch moderation and wiſdom, that public calamities might never be conſidered as the conſequences of his imprudence, or as the juſt puniſhment of his licentiouſneſs. According to the admirable tenor of their laws, merit was the only title to the crown: but ſuperſtition had given the prieſts a conſiderable influence in their elections. On his acceſſion to the throne, the emperor was obliged to make war, and to offer the priſoners to the gods. This prince, though elective, had an abſolute authority, as there were no written laws; and he was at liberty to make what alterations he pleaſed in the old cuſtoms. Almoſt all the forms of juſtice and ceremonies of the court had the ſanction of religion. The ſame

crimes that are punished in all other places were punishable by the laws, but the criminals were often saved by the interposition of the priests. There were two laws which had a tendency to destroy the innocent, and to make the Mexicans bend under the double yoke of tyranny and superstition. By these laws, persons offending against the sanctity of religion, or the majesty of the prince, were condemned to death. It is easy to discern how much laws of so little precision might afford opportunities of gratifying private revenge, or of promoting the interested views of priests and courtiers.

The steps by which private men obtained the rank of nobility, and the nobility rose to posts of honour, were bravery, piety, and perseverance. In the temples a more painful noviciate was prescribed than in the army; and the nobles, who had undergone such hardships to obtain their distinctions, submitted to the meanest employments in the palace of the emperors.

Among the great numbers of vassals in Mexico, Cortez concluded there might be some who would be ready to shake off the yoke, and join the Spaniards. He had remarked that the Mexicans were held in great detestation by the petty states that were subject to the empire, and that the emperors exercised their authority with extreme severity. He had likewise observed, that the provinces in general disliked the religion of the metropolis, and that even in Mexico the nobility

and perſons of fortune, whoſe intercourſe with ſociety had abated the force of their prejudices, and ſoftened their popular manners, had loſt their attachment to this mode of religion; and that many of the nobility were diſguſted at the low ſervices exacted of them by their maſters.

HAVING received ſome ſmall reinforcements from the Spaniards, obtained ſome troops from the republic of Tlaſcala, and formed ſome new alliances, Cortez bent his courſe once more towards the capital of the empire.

MEXICO was ſituated on an iſland in the middle of a large lake. If the Spaniards may be credited, this city contained twenty thouſand houſes; the inhabitants were very numerous, and the buildings magnificent. The emperor's palace, which was built with marble and jaſper, was of a prodigious extent. Its fountains, baths, ornaments, and ſtatues repreſenting different animals, excited admiration. It was full of pictures, which, though made of feathers, were finely coloured, brilliant, and natural. Moſt of the caciques, as well as the emperor, had menageries repleniſhed with all the animals of the new continent, and apartments for the arrangement of natural curioſities. Their gardens were filled with plants of every ſpecies. The beauties of nature, and whatever is rare or glittering in her productions, muſt be an object of luxury to an opulent people, where nature is beautiful, and the arts are not brought to perfection. The temples, which were numerous, were in general magnificent; but polluted with blood, and hung round with the heads of

the unhappy victims who had been sacrificed. One of the greatest beauties of Mexico was a square to which more than a hundred thousand persons usually resorted: it was covered with tents and shops, where the merchants exposed to view all the riches of the country, and the manufactures of the Mexicans: birds of every colour, brilliant shells, a profusion of flowers, together with pieces of workmanship in gold and enamel, gave these markets a more beautiful and splendid appearance to the eye, than is to be met with in the richest fairs of Europe. One hundred thousand canoes were constantly passing and repassing between the city and the borders of the lake; which were ornamented with more than fifty cities, and a multitude of towns and villages. Upon this lake were three causeways of considerable length, which were master-pieces of Mexican industry. If we consider that these people were of no very remote antiquity, that they had no intercourse with any enlightened nation, that they knew not the use of iron, were destitute of the convenience of writing, and unacquainted with any of those arts which assist us in the knowledge and exercise of others; and if we add to this, that they lived in a climate where the invention of man is not excited by necessity; we must acknowledge them to have been one of the most ingenious people in the world.

But the falsity of this pompous description may easily be made evident to every man's capacity. It is not, however, merely by contrasting the present state of Mexico with that in which its conquerors pretend

pretend to have found it, that this point can be decided. The ravages occaſioned by deſtructive tyranny, and a long-continued ſeries of oppreſſions, are ſufficiently known. But, if we compare the different accounts of the Spaniards, we ſhall then be able to judge of the degree of credit they deſerve. When they wiſh to imprint a great idea of their courage and ſucceſs, they repreſent the empire they have ſubdued as a formidable, rich, and civilized, kingdom. If, on the contrary, they mean to juſtify their cruelties, no people were ever ſo baſe, ſo corrupt, ſo barbarous, as theſe.

WERE it poſſible to form a proper judgement of a people that exiſts no more, it might poſſibly be ſaid, that the Mexicans were ſubject to a deſpotiſm as cruel as it was ill-concerted; that they rather conceived the neceſſity of having regular tribunals of juſtice, than they felt the advantages of them; that the ſmall number of arts they followed were as defective in workmanſhip, as they were rich in materials; that they were further removed from a ſavage, than they were near to a civilized people; and that fear, the chief ſpring of all arbitrary governments, ſerved them inſtead of morality and principles.

CORTEZ began, however, by gaining over to his intereſt the caciques who reigned in the cities that were ſituated on the borders of the lake. Some of them joined the Spaniards with their forces; others were reduced to ſubjection. Cortez took poſſeſſion of the three avenues that lead to

Mexico. He alſo endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the navigation of the lake. He built ſome brigantines, on board of which he put part of his artillery: and, in this poſture, he waited till famine ſhould produce a ſurrender of the empire of the new world.

GUATIMOZIN exerted his utmoſt efforts to relieve the capital. His ſubjects fought with as much fury as ever. The Spaniards, however, maintained their poſts, and carried their attacks into the center of the city. The Mexicans, fearing it would be taken, and perceiving that there muſt ſoon be a total want of proviſions, turned their attention to the preſervation of their emperor. He conſented to attempt his eſcape, with a view of maintaining the war in the northern part of his dominions. To facilitate his retreat, a party of his ſoldiers generouſly devoted themſelves to death, by diverting the attention of the beſiegers: but the canoe, in which this generous and unfortunate monarch had embarked, was taken by a brigantine. An officer of the Spaniſh revenue, ſuſpecting that he had treaſures concealed, ordered him to be extended upon red-hot coals, to extort a confeſſion. His favourite, who underwent the ſame torture, complaining to him of his ſufferings, the emperor ſaid, *Am I upon a bed of roſes?* an expreſſion equal to any of thoſe which hiſtory has recorded as worthy the admiration of mankind! an expreſſion which the Mexicans ſhall one day repeat to their children, when the period ſhall arrive, in which the Spaniards ſhall expiate the cruelties they have exerciſed,

erciſed, and that race of deſtroyers be plunged into the ſea, or drowned in their own blood. Theſe people may, perhaps, preſerve the actions of their martyrs, and the hiſtory of their perſecutions. In theſe it will be recorded, that Guatimozin was dragged half dead from the flames, and that three years after he was publicly hanged, under pretence of his having conſpired againſt his oppreſſors and executioners.

The Spaniards, being maſters of Mexico, extend its boundaries.

In arbitrary ſtates, the fall of the prince, and the reduction of the capital, uſually bring on the conqueſt and ſubjection of the whole realm. The people cannot preſerve their attachment to an oppreſſive government, or to a tyrant who thinks to make himſelf more reſpectable by never appearing in public. Accuſtomed to acknowledge no right but that of force, they never fail to ſubmit to the ſtrongeſt party. Such was the revolution of Mexico. All the provinces ſubmitted without reſiſtance to the victor, who gave the name of New Spain to this empire, the frontiers of which were ſtill extended, though they were already five hundred leagues in length, and two hundred in breadth.

The firſt ſtep the conquerors took, was to add to their acquiſitions the vaſt tract which lies to the ſouthward, and extends from Guatimala to the gulph of Darien. This acceſſion of territory, though acquired without much loſs of time, blood, or treaſure, was of little uſe. The provinces of which it conſiſts are hardly known, and inhabited only by a few Spaniards, who in general are poor, and have by their tyranny compelled

compelled the Indians to retire into the mountains and impenetrable foreſts. Among all theſe ſavages, the Moſquitos are the only people who retain the form of a nation. Having for a long time ſtruggled to preſerve the fertile plains they inhabited in the country of Nicaragua, they took refuge among the barren rocks at the cape of Gracias à Dios. Defended on the inland ſide by impaſſable moraſſes, and on that of the ſea by dangerous ſhoals, they defy the rage of their enemies. Their intercourſe with the Engliſh and French pirates, whom they have frequently accompanied in the moſt dangerous enterprizes, has inflamed their hatred for their perſecutors, increaſed their natural audacity, and taught them the uſe of fire-arms: but their numbers, which were never conſiderable, have been continually on the decline. As they do not at preſent exceed two thouſand men, their weakneſs puts it out of their power to give the leaſt alarm.

The increaſed extent of New Spain towards the north is more conſiderable, and may prove of much more importance. We have hitherto been ſpeaking only of New Mexico, which was diſcovered in 1553, and conquered in the beginning of the laſt century; which revolted about the middle of it, and was ſoon after reduced to ſubjection. All that we know concerning this immenſe province is, that the Spaniards have ſettled a few wandering ſavages there, introduced a little agriculture, worked ſome rich mines imperfectly, and eſtabliſhed a ſettlement called Santa-Fé.

Fé. The conqueſt of this inland territory would have been followed by another of much greater utility on the ſea-coaſt, if, during the hundred years ſince it was undertaken, it had been proſecuted with the attention it deſerved.

The old empire of Mexico extended its boundaries almoſt to the entrance of Vermilion bay. From theſe limits, to the place where the continent is united to California, is a gulph almoſt twenty degrees in length. Its breadth is ſometimes ſixty, and ſometimes fifty leagues, ſeldom leſs than forty. In this extent there are many ſand-banks, and a conſiderable number of iſlands; and the coaſt is inhabited by ſeveral ſavage nations, which are for the moſt part in enmity with each other. The Spaniards have here formed certain ſcattered colonies, to which, agreeably to their cuſtom, they have given the name of provinces. Their miſſionaries have carried their diſcoveries further, and flattered themſelves that they ſhould procure to their country greater riches than it had ever acquired from its moſt celebrated poſſeſſions.

Several cauſes have been for a long time combined, to render their labours ineffectual. No ſooner had they aſſembled together, and civilized ſome of the ſavages, than theſe were carried off to be employed in the mines. This cruelty ruined the riſing ſettlements, and prevented other Indians from incorporating with them. The Spaniards, too remote from the inſpection of government, gave themſelves up to the moſt atrocious and unheard-of enormities. Quickſilver, ſtuffs,

and other merchandiſe, were carried thither from Vera-Cruz on mules, through a difficult and dangerous way of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues; a circumſtance which, at the end of the journey, enhanced their price ſo conſiderably, that moſt of the perſons concerned in the working of the mines were obliged to abandon them, from the impoſſibility of ſupporting them. At laſt certain clans of ſavages, ſtimulated either by ferocity, or the well-grounded apprehenſion of being one day enſlaved, unexpectedly fell on the workmen, who ſtill obſtinately perſiſted in ſtruggling againſt ſo many difficulties.

It was hoped that a new arrangement of things would take place, when in 1746, by order of government, the Jeſuit Ferdinand Conſag had ſailed through the whole gulph of California. This voyage, executed with the utmoſt care, and with great judgment, inſtructed the Spaniards in every thing that was of importance for them to know. They became acquainted with the coaſts of this continent, the harbours which nature has opened there, the ſandy and dry places which are not ſuſceptible of cultivation, and the rivers, which, by the fertility they produce on their banks, point out the proper ſpot for the formation of ſettlements. Nothing in future could hinder the veſſels from Acapulco from entering Vermilion bay, or from conveying at a moderate expence, into the provinces or its borders, miſſionaries, ſoldiers, miners, proviſions, merchandize, and every thing neceſſary for colonies, and returning from thence laden

laden with metals. The imagination of the Spaniards went ſtill further. They already foreſaw the whole continent ſubdued as far as New Mexico, and a new empire riſe as extenſive and as opulent as the former, and which would be ſuperior to it in the mildneſs and ſalubrity of its climate.

These expectations were not chimerical; but, in order to have them realized, it was neceſſary that the natives of the country ſhould either be gained over by humane actions, or ſubdued by force of arms. It could not poſſibly enter into the minds of the deſtroyers of the new world to have recourſe to the firſt of theſe expedients; and they were not able to purſue the ſecond before the year 1768.

Their endeavours have not been crowned with complete ſucceſs. They advanced with conſiderable rapidity in Mexico, and in every region which was populous, or whoſe inhabitants were collected in a ſmall compaſs. Countries leſs inhabited were not ſo ſoon reduced, becauſe there was a neceſſity of finding out men to ſubdue, and becauſe they fled into the foreſts whenever the Spaniards appeared, and did not appear again till want of ſubſiſtence had obliged them to return. Thus it was not till after three years purſuit, toil, and cruelty, that the conqueſt of the Seris, Platos, and Sobaiporis, was completed. Their neighbours, the Papagos, Nijoras, and Sobas, deſpairing of being able to defend their liberty, ſubmitted to the yoke without reſiſtance. Troops were ſtill employed in 1771 in purſuing the Apaches, the moſt warlike of theſe nations, and who had the ſtrongeſt

paſſion

paſſion for independence. It is no longer thought poſſible to ſubdue them; but the Spaniards are conſtantly employed in exterminating their race, or at leaſt in keeping them at a diſtance from New Biſcay, which would otherwiſe be expoſed to their incurſions.

THE wealth that has been lately found in the provinces of Sonora and Cinaloa, which form what is now called the New Andaluſia, appears to tranſcend every thing that has been ſeen in any other place. There is a gold mine fourteen leagues in extent, which at the depth of two feet offers immenſe treaſures. Of the ſilver mines, one produces eight marks per quintal of ore, and the ſtones which are drawn out of the other are almoſt entirely compoſed of native ſilver. If the court of Madrid, which has juſt publiſhed theſe diſcoveries, hath not been deceived; if the mines, which often have a great extent of ſurface with very little depth, do not preſent deluſive hopes; the unhappy ſavages, who have very lately been ſubdued, will be all buried alive in the bowels of the earth.

Climate, ſoil, and population of Mexico.

NEW SPAIN is almoſt entirely ſituated within the torrid zone. The air is exceſſively warm, moiſt, and unwholeſome, on the coaſts of the north ſea. Theſe defects of the climate are infinitely leſs felt on the coaſts of the ſouth ſea, and hardly at all in the inland country, which is interſected by a chain of mountains, that are ſuppoſed to be a continuation of the Cordeleras.

THE quality of the ſoil has the ſame variations. The eaſtern part is low, marſhy, overflowed in the rainy

rainy seasons, covered with impenetrable forests, and totally uncultivated. It may be imagined, that, if the Spaniards should leave it in this state of desolation, it is because they judge, that a desert and destructive frontier will furnish a better defence against an enemy's fleet, than they could ever expect either from fortifications and troops, the maintenance of which would cost immense sums; or from the natives of the country, who are effeminate, and little attached to the government of their conquerors. The soil on the western side is higher, of a better quality, on which there are many fields, and several houses are built upon it. In the low lands there are districts, on which nature has been very liberal; but, like every country situated under the tropics, they abound more in fruits than in corn.

The population of this vast empire is not less various than its soil. Its most distinguished inhabitants are the Spaniards, sent hither by the court to fill the posts of government. They are obliged, like those in the mother-country who aspire to any ecclesiastical, civil, or military employments, to prove that there hath been neither hereticks, Jews, Mohammedans, nor any persons in their family, who have been called before the inquisition, for four generations. Merchants who are desirous of going to Mexico, as well as to other parts of America, without becoming colonists, are compelled to observe the same forms. They are also obliged to swear that they have three hundred palms of merchandise, their own property, in the fleet in which they embark, and that they will not carry their wives

BOOK VI.

wives with them. On these absurd conditions, they become the principal agents of the European commerce with the Indies. Though their charter is only to continue three years, and a little longer for countries more remote, it is of great importance. To them alone belongs the right of selling, as commissioners, the major part of the cargo. If these laws were observed, the merchants stationed in the new world would be confined to dispose of what they have received on their own account.

The predilection, which administration has for Spaniards born in Europe, has reduced the Spanish Creoles to acquiesce in subordinate stations. The descendents of the companions of Cortez, and of those who came after them, being constantly excluded from all places of honour or of trust that were any way considerable, have seen the gradual decay of the power that supported their fathers. The habit of being obliged to bear that unjust contempt with which they have been treated has at last made them become really contemptible. They have totally lost, in the vices which originate from indolence, from the heat of the climate, and from a superfluous enjoyment of all things, that firmness, and that sort of pride which hath ever characterized their nation. A barbarous luxury, shameful pleasures, and romantic intrigues, have enervated all the vigour of their minds, and superstition hath completed the ruin of their virtues. Blindly devoted to priests too ignorant to enlighten them by their instructions, too depraved to edify them by their example, and too mercenary to attend

tend to both these duties of their function, they have no attachment to any part of their religion, but that which enfeebles the mind, and have neglected what might have contributed to rectify their morals.

The Mestees, who constitute the third order of citizens, are held in still greater contempt. It is well known that the court of Madrid, in order to replenish a part of that dreadful vacancy which the avarice and cruelty of the conquerors had occasioned, and to regain the confidence of those who had escaped their fury, encouraged as much as possible the marriage of Spaniards with Indian women. These alliances, which became pretty common throughout all America, were particularly frequent in Mexico, where the women had more understanding, and were more agreeable than in other places. The Creoles transferred to this mixt progeny the contemptuous slight they received from the Europeans. Their condition, equivocal at first, in process of time at last was fixed between the whites and the blacks.

These blacks are not very numerous in New Spain. As the natives are more intelligent, more robust, and more industrious, than those of the other colonies, they have hardly introduced any Africans except such as were required either to indulge the caprice, or perform the domestic service, of rich people. These slaves, who are much beloved by their masters, on whom they absolutely depend, who purchased them at an extravagant price, and who make them the ministers of their pleasures, take advantage of the high favour they enjoy, to

oppreſs the Mexicans. They aſſume over theſe men, who are called free, an aſcendant which keeps up an implacable hatred between the two nations. The law has ſtudied to encourage this averſion, by taking effectual meaſures to prevent all connection between them. Negroes are prohibited from having any amorous correſpondence with the Indians; the men, on pain of being mutilated, the women of being ſeverely puniſhed. On all theſe accounts, the Africans, who in other ſettlements are enemies to Europeans, are in the Spaniſh Indies their warm friends.

Authority has no need of this ſupport, at leaſt in Mexico, where population is no longer what it was formerly. The firſt hiſtorians, and thoſe who copied them, have recorded, that the Spaniards found there ten millions of ſouls. This was the exaggerated account of conquerors, to exalt the magnificence of their triumph: and it was adopted, without examination, with ſo much the more readineſs, as it rendered them the more odious. We need only trace with attention the progreſs of thoſe ruffians who at firſt deſolated theſe fine countries, in order to be convinced that they had not ſucceeded in multiplying men at Mexico and the adjacent parts, but by depopulating the center of the empire; and that the provinces, which are remote from the capital, differed in nothing from the other deſerts of South and North America. It is making a great conceſſion, to allow that the population of Mexico has only been exaggerated one half: for it does not now exceed one million.

It is generally believed, that the firſt conquerors maſſacred the Indians out of wantonneſs, and that even the prieſts incited them to theſe acts of ferocity. Undoubtedly theſe inhuman ſoldiers frequently ſhed blood without even an apparent motive; and certainly their fanatic miſſionaries did not oppoſe theſe barbarities as they ought to have done. This was not, however, the real cauſe, the principal ſource of the depopulation of Mexico; it was the work of a ſlow tyranny, and of that avarice which exacted from its wretched inhabitants more rigorous toil than was compatible with their conſtitution and the climate.

This oppreſſion was coeval with the conqueſt of the country. All the lands were divided between the crown, the companions of Cortez, and the grandees or miniſters who were moſt in favour at the court of Spain. The Mexicans, appointed to the royal domains, were deſtined to public labours, which originally were conſiderable. The lot of thoſe who were employed on the eſtates of individuals was ſtill more wretched. All groaned under a dreadful yoke; they were ill-fed; they had no wages given them; and ſervices were required of them, under which the moſt robuſt men would have ſunk. Their misfortunes excited the compaſſion of Bartholomew de las Caſas.

This man, ſo famous in the annals of the new world, had accompanied his father in the firſt voyage made by Columbus. The mildneſs and ſimplicity of the Indians affected him ſo ſtrongly, that he made himſelf an eccleſiaſtic, in order to devote his la-

bours to their converſion. But this ſoon became the leaſt of his attentions. As he was more a *man* than a *prieſt*, he felt more for the cruelties exerciſed againſt them, than for their ſuperſtitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemiſphere to the other, in order to comfort the people for whom he had conceived an attachment, or to ſoften their tyrants. This conduct, which made him be idolized by the one, and dreaded by the other, had not the ſucceſs he expected. The hope of ſtriking awe, by a character revered among the Spaniards, determined him to accept the biſhoprick of Chiapa in Mexico. When he was convinced that this dignity was an inſufficient barrier againſt that avarice and cruelty which he endeavoured to check, he abdicated it. It was then that this courageous, firm, diſintereſted, man accuſed his country before the tribunal of the whole univerſe. In his account of the tyranny of the Spaniards in America, he accuſes them of having deſtroyed fifteen millions of Indians. They ventured to find fault with the acrimony of his ſtyle, but no one convicted him of exaggeration. His writings, which indicate the amiable turn of his diſpoſition, and the ſublimity of his ſentiments, have ſtamped a diſgrace upon his barbarous countrymen, which time hath not and never will efface.

The court of Madrid, awakened by the repreſentations of the virtuous Las Caſas, and by the indignation of the whole world, became ſenſible at laſt, that the tyranny it permitted was repugnant to religion, to humanity, and to policy, and reſolved

reſolved to break the chains of the Mexicans. Their liberty was now only conſtrained by the ſole condition, that they ſhould not quit the territory where they were ſettled. This precaution owed its origin to the fear that was entertained of their going to join the wandering ſavages to the north and ſouth of the empire.

With their liberty their lands ought alſo to have been reſtored to them; but this was not done. This injuſtice compelled them to work ſolely for their oppreſſors. It was only decreed, that the Spaniards, in whoſe ſervice they laboured, ſhould ſtipulate to keep them well, and pay them to the amount of 120 livres * a year.

From theſe profits the tribute impoſed by government was ſubtracted, together with an hundred ſous † for an inſtitution which it is aſtoniſhing the conquerors ſhould have thought of eſtabliſhing. This was a fund ſet apart in each community, and appropriated to the relief of ſuch Indians as were decayed or indiſpoſed, and to their ſupport under private or public calamities.

The diſtribution of this fund was committed to their caciques. Theſe were not the deſcendents of thoſe whom they found in the country at the time of the conqueſt. The Spaniards choſe them from among thoſe Indians who appeared the moſt attached to their intereſts; and were under no apprehenſions at making theſe dignities hereditary. Their authority was limited to the ſupporting the police in their diſtrict, which in general extended

* About 5l. 5s.

† 4s. 4d.½.

eight or ten leagues; to the collecting the tribute of those Indians who laboured on their own account, that of the others being stopt by the masters whom they served; and to the preventing their flight by keeping them always under their inspection, and the not suffering them to contract any engagement without their consent. As a reward of their services, these magistrates obtained from government a property. They were permitted to take out of the common stock five sous * annually for every Indian under their jurisdiction. At last they were empowered to get their fields cultivated by such young men as were not yet subject to the poll-tax; and to employ girls till the time of their marriage in such occupations as were adapted to their sex, without allowing them any salary except their maintenance.

These institutions, which totally changed the condition of the Indians of Mexico, irritated the Spaniards to a degree not to be conceived. Their pride would not suffer them to consider the Americans as free men; nor would their avarice permit them to pay for labour, which hitherto had cost them nothing. They employed themselves successively, or in combination, craft, remonstrances, and violence, to effect the subversion of an arrangement which so strongly contradicted their warmest passions; but their efforts were ineffectual. Las Casas had raised up for his beloved Indians protectors who seconded his design with zeal and warmth. The Mexicans themselves, finding a support, impeached their op-

* Two-pence half-penny.

pressors

preſſors before the tribunals, and even the tribunals that were either weak or in the intereſt of the court. They carried their reſolution ſo far, as even unanimouſly to refuſe to work for thoſe who had treated any of their countrymen with injuſtice. This mutual agreement, more than any other circumſtance, gave ſolidity to the regulations which had been decreed. The other, preſcribed by the laws, was gradually eſtabliſhed. There was no longer any regular ſyſtem of oppreſſion; but merely ſeveral of thoſe particular vexations which a vanquiſhed people, who have loſt their government, can hardly avoid from thoſe who have ſubdued it.

These clandeſtine acts of injuſtice did not prevent the Mexicans from recovering, from time to time, certain detached portions of that immenſe territory of which their fathers had been deſpoiled. They purchaſed them of the royal domain, or of the great proprietors. It was not their labour which enabled them to make theſe acquiſitions: for this they were indebted to the happineſs of having diſcovered, ſome of them mines, others treaſures which had been concealed at the time of the conqueſt. The greateſt number derived their reſources from the prieſts and monks, to whom they owed their exiſtence.

Even thoſe, who experienced a fortune leſs propitious, procured for themſelves by the ſole profits of their pay more conveniences than they had enjoyed before they underwent a foreign yoke. We ſhould be very much deceived if we ſhould judge of the antient proſperity of the inhabitants

of Mexico by what has been ſaid of its emperor, its court, its capital, and the governors of its provinces. Deſpotiſm had there produced thoſe fatal effects which it produces every where. The whole ſtate was ſacrificed to the caprices, pleaſures, and magnificence, of a ſmall number of perſons.

The government drew conſiderable advantages from the mines which it cauſed to be worked, and ſtill greater from thoſe which were in the hands of individuals. The ſalt-works greatly added to its revenue. Thoſe who followed agriculture, at the time of harveſt paid in a kind of a third of all the produce of the lands, whether they belonged to them as their own property, or whether they were only the farmers of them. Men who lived by the chace, fiſhermen, potters, and all mechanics, paid the ſame proportion of their induſtry every month. Even the poor were taxed at certain fixed contributions, which their labour or their alms might put them in a condition to pay.

The generality of the Mexicans went naked. The emperor himſelf and the nobles were only covered with a kind of mantle, compoſed of a piece of ſquare cotton tied on the right ſhoulder. They wore ſandals on their feet. The women of the lower ſort for their whole apparel had only a kind of ſhift with half-ſleeves, which fell on their knees, and was open at the boſom. Common people were prohibited from raiſing their houſes above the ground floor, and from having either doors or windows. Moſt of theſe houſes were built of earth, and covered with boards, and had

no

no greater ſhare of conveniency than of elegance. The inſide was covered with mats, and lighted with torches of fir-wood, though they had wax and oil in abundance. Their beds were made of plain ſtraw and coverlets of cotton. For their ſeats, they had only little ſacks of palm-leaves; but it was their cuſtom to ſit on the ground, and even to eat in that poſture. Their nouriſhment, which conſiſted rarely of animal food, had little diverſity and little delicacy. Their moſt ordinary aliment was maize made into a paſte, or prepared with various ſeaſonings. With theſe they joined the common herbs found in the field, which were not too hard, or had not a bad ſmell. Cocoa diluted in warm water, or ſeaſoned with honey or pimento, was their beſt liquor. They had, beſides theſe, other liquors, but not of an intoxicating quality; for all ſtrong drinks were ſo rigidly prohibited, that no one could uſe them without a particular permiſſion from government, which was granted only to the ſick and aged. It was on certain ſolemnities alone, and in public labours, that each perſon had a quantity allowed in proportion to his age. Drunkenneſs was conſidered as the moſt ſcandalous of vices. Perſons who were found in this ſituation were ſhaved in public, and their houſes were pulled down. If they exerciſed any public office, they were deprived of it, and declared incapable of ever holding it again.

It is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that men who had ſo few wants ſhould ever ſubmit to the yoke of ſlavery. That the citizen, accuſtomed to the indulgences and conveniences of life, ſhould purchaſe

chaſe them every day with the ſacrifice of his liberty, is not the leaſt ſurpriſing; but that people to whom nature offers more felicity than the ſocial chain that unites them, ſhould calmly ſubmit to ſlavery, and never think that there is frequently but a river to croſs in order to be free; this would be for ever inconceivable, if we did not know how much habit and ſuperſtition render men inſenſible to the feelings of nature.

The Mexicans are now leſs unhappy. Our fruits, our corn, and our cattle, have rendered their food more wholeſome, agreeable, and abundant. Their houſes are better built, better diſpoſed, and better furniſhed. Shoes, drawers, ſhirts, a garment of wool or cotton, a ruff, and a hat, conſtitute their dreſs. The dignity which it has been agreed to annex to theſe enjoyments, has made them better œconomiſts, and more laborious. This eaſe, however, is far from being univerſal; it is even very uncommon in the vicinity of the mines, towns, and great roads, where tyranny ſeldom ſleeps: but we often find it with ſatisfaction in remote parts, where the Spaniards are not numerous, and where they have in ſome meaſure become Mexicans.

The inhabitants of the province of Chiapa are diſtinguiſhed above all others. They owe their ſuperiority to the advantage of having had Las Caſas for their teacher, who originally prevented them from being oppreſſed. They ſurpaſs their countrymen in ſize, genius, and ſtrength. Their language has a peculiar ſoftneſs and elegance. Their territory, without being a better ſoil than the

the reſt, is infinitely richer in all ſorts of productions. They are painters, muſicians, and dextrous in all arts. They particularly excel in fabricating thoſe works, pictures, and ſtuffs of feathers, which have never been imitated elſewhere. Their principal town is called Chiapa dos Indos. It is only inhabited by the natives of the country, who form a community conſiſting of about four thouſand families, amongſt which are found many of the Indian nobility. The great river, on which this town is ſituated, is the ſpot on which the inhabitants continually diſplay their dexterity and their courage. They form naval armies with their boats. They engage, attack, and defend themſelves, with ſurpriſing agility. They excel no leſs in the chace of bulls, cudgeling, dancing, and all bodily exerciſes. They build towns and caſtles of wood, which they cover with oil-cloth, and which they beſiege in form. In a word, theatrical repreſentations are their ordinary amuſements. From theſe particulars we ſee what the Mexicans were capable of, if they had been fortunate enough to have paſſed under the dominion of a conqueror, who had poſſeſſed moderation and good ſenſe enough to relax the chains of their ſervitude, inſtead of riveting them.

Productions of Mexico.

THE employments of this people are very various. The moſt intelligent, and thoſe who are in eaſy circumſtances, devote themſelves to the moſt neceſſary and moſt uſeful manufactures, which are diſperſed through the whole empire. The moſt beautiful manufactures are eſtabliſhed among the people of Tlaſcala. Their old capital, and the new

new one, which is called Angelos, are the center of this induſtry. Here they manufacture cloth that is pretty fine, callicoes that have an agreeable appearance, certain ſlight ſilks, good hats, gold lace, embroidery, lace, glaſſes, and a great deal of hardware. The arts muſt neceſſarily have made a greater progreſs in a province which hath been able to preſerve its independence a long time, which the Spaniards thought it prudent to treat with ſome management after the conqueſt, and which had always manifeſted ſuperior penetration, whether owing to its climate or its government. To theſe advantages is joined that of its ſituation. All the inhabitants of Mexico, who muſt neceſſarily paſs over its territory when they go to purchaſe the European merchandiſe that is landed at Vera Cruz, have found it convenient to take up on the road what the fleet did not ſupply them with, or what was ſold too dear.

THE care of flocks affords a maintenance to ſome Mexicans, whom fortune or nature have not called to more diſtinguiſhed employments. America, at the time it was diſcovered, had neither hogs, ſheep, oxen, horſes, nor even any domeſtic animal. Columbus carried ſome of theſe uſeful animals to San Domingo, from whence they were generally diſperſed, and at Mexico more than in any other places. Theſe have multiplied prodigiouſly. They count their horned cattle by thouſands, whoſe ſkins are become an object of conſiderable exportation. The horſes are degenerated, but the quality is compenſated by the number. Hog's-lard

here ſubſtituted for butter. Sheeps wool is dry, coarſe, and bad, as it is every where between the tropics.

The vine and olive-tree have experienced the ſame degeneracy. The cultivation of them was at firſt prohibited, with a view of leaving a free market for the commodities of the mother country. In 1706, permiſſion was given to the Jeſuits, and a little afterwards to the Marquis Del Valle, a deſcendent from Cortez, to cultivate them. The attempts have not proved ſucceſsful. The trials, indeed, that have been made, have not been abandoned; but no perſon has ſolicited the liberty of following an example, which did not promiſe any great emoluments. Other cultures have been more ſucceſsful. Cotton, ſugar, ſilk, cocoa, tobacco, and European corn, have all thriven in ſome degree. The Spaniards are encouraged to proſecute the labours which theſe cultures require, from the happy circumſtance of their having diſcovered iron mines which were entirely unknown to the Mexicans, as well as ſome mines of a kind of copper that is hard enough to ſerve for implements of huſbandry. All theſe articles, however, for want of men and induſtry, are merely conſumed within the country. There is only the vanilla, indigo, and cochineal, which make part of the trade of Mexico with other nations.

The vanilla is a plant which, like ivy, grows to the trees it meets with, embraces them cloſely, and raiſes itſelf by their aid. Its ſtem is but very ſmall in diameter, and not quite round.

Though

Though it is very pliable, it is yet pretty hard. Its bark is thin, very close, and of a green colour. It is interfected like the vine, with knots which are at the distance of six or seven inches from each other. From these knots issue leaves resembling those of the laurel, but longer, larger, thicker, and more solid. They are of a bright green colour, their upper surface glossy, their under a little pale. The flowers are blackish.

A SMALL pod about six inches long, and four lines broad, wrinkled, flabby, oily, thick though brittle, may be considered as the fruit of this plant. The inner part of this pod is lined with a pulp that is brownish, aromatic, somewhat acrid, and full of a black, oily, and balsamic liquor, in which an infinite number of black, shining, and almost imperceptible seeds float.

THE season for gathering the pods begins about the latter end of September, and lasts till the end of December. They are dried in the shade; and, when dry and fit for keeping, they are rubbed externally with a little oil of cocoa or of calba, to render them supple, to preserve them the better, and to prevent them from becoming too dry and brittle.

THIS is nearly all that is known of the vanilla, which is particularly appropriated to perfume chocolate; a practice which has passed from the Mexicans to the Spaniards, and from them to other nations. That alone is esteemed which grows in the inaccessible mountains of New Spain. We are equally ignorant how many different species there are of it; which are the most valuable;

what is the ſoil which ſuits them beſt; how they are cultivated; and in what manner they are propagated. All theſe circumſtances are known only to the natives of the country. It is pretended that they have kept this ſource of wealth to themſelves, by taking an oath, that they would never reveal to their tyrants any thing reſpecting the cultivation of the vanilla, and would ſuffer the moſt cruel tortures rather than be perjured. It is more probable that they owe this advantage to the character of their conquerors, who, content with the riches they have acquired, and habituated to lead an indolent life, and to indulge themſelves in ignorance, equally contemn both the curioſities of natural hiſtory, and the reſearches of thoſe who apply to it. But they are better acquainted with indigo.

INDIGO is a kind of plant, whoſe root is three or four lines thick, and more than a foot long, of a faint ſmell ſomething like parſley. From this root iſſues a ſingle ſtem nearly of the ſame thickneſs, about two feet high, ſtraight, hard, almoſt woody, covered with a bark ſlightly ſplit, of a grey aſh colour towards the bottom, green in the middle, reddiſh at the extremity, and without appearance of pith in the inſide. The leaves, ranged in pairs around the ſtalk, are of an oval form, ſmooth, ſoft to the touch, furrowed above, of a deep green on the under ſide, and connected by a very ſhort peduncle. From about one third of the ſtem to the extremity there are ears that are loaded with very ſmall flowers

flowers from a dozen to fifteen, but deſtitute of ſmell. The piſtil, which is in the midſt of each flower, changes into a pod, in which the ſeeds are incloſed.

This plant requires a ſmooth rich ſoil, well tilled, and not too dry. The ſeed of it, which as to figure and colour reſembles gun-powder, is ſowed in little furrows that are about the breadth of the hough, two or three inches deep, at a foot's diſtance from each other, and in as ſtraight a line as poſſible. Continual attention is required to pluck up the weeds, which would ſoon choak the plant. Though it may be ſown in all ſeaſons, the ſpring is commonly preferred. Moiſture cauſes this plant to ſhoot above the ſurface in three or four days. It is ripe at the end of two months. When it begins to flower, it is cut with pruning-knives; and cut again at the end of every ſix weeks, if the weather is a little rainy. It laſts about two years, after which term it degenerates; it is then plucked up, and planted afreſh.

As this plant ſoon exhauſts the ſoil, becauſe it does not abſorb a ſufficient quantity of air and dew to moiſten the earth, it is of advantage to the planter to have a vaſt ſpace which may remain covered with trees, till it becomes neceſſary to fell them, in order to make room for the indigo: for trees are to be conſidered as ſyphons, by means of which the earth and air reciprocally communicate to each other their fluid and vegetating ſubſtance; ſyphons, into which the

the vapours and the juices being alternately drawn up, are kept in equilibrium. Thus while the ſap aſcends by the roots to the branches, the leaves draw in the air and vapours, which circulating through the fibres of the tree deſcend again into the earth, and reſtore to it in dew what it loſes in ſap. It is in order to maintain this reciprocal influence, that, when there are no trees to preſerve the fields in a proper ſtate for the ſowing of indigo, it is cuſtomary to cover thoſe which are exhauſted by this plant with potatoes or lianes, whoſe creeping branches preſerve the freſhneſs of the earth, and whoſe leaves when burnt renew its fertility.

Indigo is diſtinguiſhed into two kinds, the true and the baſtard. Though the firſt is ſold at a higher price on account of its ſuperiority, it is uſually advantageous to cultivate the other, becauſe it is heavier. The firſt will grow in many different ſoils; the ſecond ſucceeds beſt in thoſe which are moſt expoſed to the rain. Both are liable to great accidents. Sometimes the plant becomes dry, and is deſtroyed by an inſect frequently found on it; at other times, the leaves, which are the valuable part of the plant, are devoured in the ſpace of twenty-four hours by caterpillars. This laſt misfortune, which is but too common, has given occaſion to the ſaying, that the planters of indigo go to bed rich, and riſe in the morning totally ruined.

This production ought to be gathered-in with great precaution, for fear of making the farina

that lies on the leaves, and which is very valuable, fall off by ſhaking it. When gathered, it is thrown into the ſteeping-vat, which is a large tub filled with water. Here it undergoes a fermentation, which in twenty-four hours at furtheſt is completed. A cock is then turned, to let the water run into the ſecond tub, called the mortar or pounding-tub. The ſteeping-vat is then cleaned out, that freſh plants may be thrown in; and thus the work is continued without interruption.

The water which has run into the pounding-tub is found impregnated with a very ſubtile earth, which alone conſtitutes the dregs or blue ſubſtance that is the object of this proceſs, and which muſt be ſeparated from the uſeleſs ſalt of the plant, becauſe this makes the dregs ſwim on the ſurface. To effect this, the water is forcibly agitated with wooden buckets that are full of holes, and fixed to a long handle. This part of the proceſs requires the greateſt precautions. If the agitation be diſcontinued too ſoon, the part that is uſed in dying, not being ſufficiently ſeparated from the ſalt, would be loſt. If, on the other hand, the dye were to be agitated too long after the complete ſeparation, the parts would be brought together again, and form a new combination; and the ſalt reacting on the dregs would excite a ſecond fermentation, that would alter the dye, ſpoil its colour, and make what is called burnt indigo. Theſe accidents are prevented by a cloſe attention to the leaſt

alterations that the dye undergoes, and by the precaution which the workmen take to draw out a little of it from time to time in a clean veſſel. When they perceive that the coloured particles collect by ſeparating from the reſt of the liquor, they leave off ſhaking the buckets, in order to allow time to the blue dregs to precipitate to the bottom of the tub, where they are left to ſettle till the water is quite clear. Holes made in the tub at different heights are then opened one after another, and this uſeleſs water is let out.

The blue dregs remaining at the bottom having acquired the conſiſtence of a thick muddy liquid, cocks are then opened, which draw it off into the ſettler. After it is ſtill more cleared of much ſuperfluous water in this third and laſt tub, it is drained into ſacks; from whence, when water no longer filters through the cloth, this matter, now become of a thicker conſiſtence, is put into cheſts, where it entirely loſes its moiſture. At the end of three months the indigo is fit for ſale.

It is uſed in waſhing to give a blueiſh colour to linen: painters alſo employ it in their water colours; and dyers cannot make fine blue without indigo. The antients procured it from the Eaſt Indies; in modern times it has been tranſplanted into America. The cultivation of it, ſucceſſively attempted at different places, appears to be fixed at Carolina, San Domingo, and Mexico. That which is known under the name of Guatimala indigo, from whence it comes, is the moſt

perfect of all. New Spain derives very considerable advantage from this plant; but it gains still more from the trade of cochineal.

The nature of the cochineal, without which neither purple nor scarlet could be made, and which is found only in Mexico, hath been long unknown, even to nations who made the most use of it. The Spaniards, who are naturally reserved, and who become particularly mysterious in any circumstance concerning their colonies, kept a secret, which every thing induced them to believe was of importance to them. At last it became known, that it was an insect, of the size and form of a bug.

This insect, like all animals, has two sexes. The female is ill-shaped, tardy, and stupid; its eyes, mouth, antennæ, are fixed so deep, and are so concealed in the folds of the skin, that it is impossible to distinguish them without a microscope. On which account, this animal was for a long time supposed to be the seed of a plant.

The male is very scarce, and is sufficient for three hundred females or more; it is active, small, and slender in comparison with the female; its neck is narrower than the head, and still narrower than the rest of the body. Its thorax is of an elliptic form, a little longer than the neck and head together, and flattened below; its antennæ are jointed, and out of each joint issue four slender hairs that are disposed in pairs on each side. It has six feet, each formed of distinct parts.

parts. From the posterior extremity of its body, two large hairs or bristles are extended, that are four or five times the length of the insect. It bears two wings that are fixed to the upper part of the thorax, which fall, like the wings of common flies, when it walks or rests. These wings, which are of an oblong form, are suddenly diminished in breadth at the point where they are connected to the body. They are strengthened by two long muscles, one of which extends itself on the outside all around the wing; and the other, which is internal and parallel to the former, seems interrupted towards the summit of the wings. The male is of a bright red; the female of a deeper colour.

The shrub on which both live, called the Nopal or Indian fig, is armed with prickles, and is about five feet high. Its leaves are thick and oval; its flowers large, and its fruit is of the shape of a fig. It is filled with a red juice, to which the cochineal probably owes its colour.

The Indian fig is commonly propagated from one or two of its leaves put in a hole, and covered with earth. The cultivation of it consists only in extirpating the weeds that surround it. It must often be renewed, because, the younger it is, the better and more considerable is its produce. It is found in various countries of Mexico, at Tlascala, Chalula, Chiapa, and New Galicia; but it is not common. These people never plant it; and the cochineal, which is such as rude nature of itself produces, is called wild, and is of little or

no value. The Indians alone of Guaxaca devote themſelves wholly to this ſpecies of induſtry. They are never diſcouraged, either by the continual attention it requires, or by the too common misfortunes to which it expoſes them. Their intelligence, activity, and eaſy circumſtances, enable them to ſupport a bad harveſt, and wait for a good one. In general, theſe crops are more regular in a dry ſoil, in which the nopal flouriſhes, and under a temperate ſky, where the cochineal is expoſed to fewer accidents, than in thoſe parts of the province where the cold and heat are more ſenſibly felt.

As ſoon as the favourable ſeaſon arrives, the Mexicans, if I may uſe the expreſſion, ſow the cochineals on the plant that is proper for them by faſtening to it little neſts of moſs, that contain each twelve or fifteen inſects. Three or four days after, they lay their little ones, which ſpread themſelves with aſtoniſhing celerity over all the branches. They ſoon loſe this activity, and are ſeen to faſten themſelves to the moſt nutritive and beſt-expoſed part of the leaf, from whence they do not ſtir till they are grown to their full ſize. They do not gnaw the leaf; they only puncture it, and extract the juice with a ſmall trunk, with which nature has provided them for this purpoſe.

Three crops of cochineal are made every year, which are ſo many new generations of this inſect. The laſt produces only an indifferent cochineal, becauſe it is mixed with detached parcels of the leaves, which have been ſcraped in order to take away the new-born inſects, which otherwiſe it would

would be hardly poſſible to gather; and becauſe the young cochineals are then mixed with the old; a circumſtance which conſiderably diminiſhes their value. Before the rainy ſeaſon comes on, the branches of the nopal are cut, in order to ſave the little inſects which are on them. Theſe are laid up in the houſes, where the leaves maintain their freſhneſs, as the leaves of all mucilaginous plants. Here the cochineals thrive during the bad ſeaſon. As ſoon as that is paſſed, they are placed on the trees, where the vivifying freſhneſs of the air ſoon makes them propagate.

As ſoon as the cochineals are gathered, they are plunged in hot water to kill them. There are different ways of drying them. The beſt is, to expoſe them to the ſun for ſeveral days, by which means they acquire a red brown colour, which the Spaniards call *renegrida*. The ſecond method is to put them in an oven, where they aſſume a greyiſh colour ſtreaked with veins of purple, which has given them the name of *jaſpeada*. But the moſt imperfect, which is what the Indians moſt generally practiſe, conſiſts in putting them on plates along with their cakes of maize; in which proceſs they are frequently burnt, and are therefore called *negra*.

Though the cochineal is claſſed in the animal kingdom, the ſpecies of all others the moſt likely to corrupt, yet it never ſpoils. Without any other care than merely that of keeping it in a box, it has been preſerved in all its virtue for ages. The high price it always bears ſhould have excited the emulation of thoſe nations which cultivate the

American iſlands, and of other people who inhabit regions whoſe temperature would be propitious to this inſect, and to the plant on which it feeds. New Spain, however, has the ſole poſſeſſion of this rich production. Independent of what it furniſhes Aſia with, it ſends every year to Europe about two thouſand five hundred bags or ſacks, which are ſold at Cadiz, one with another, for * 3300 livres. This is a very conſiderable produce, which hardly coſts the Spaniards any trouble. It ſhould ſeem as if nature had freely beſtowed upon them what they ſell at a high price to other nations. She has been peculiarly bountiful to them, by granting them at the ſame time the productions which yield the moſt riches, and gold and ſilver, by which all productions are purchaſed.

The mines of Mexico.

Such is the dominion which theſe ſhining and fatal metals have over us, that they have counterbalanced the infamy and execration which the plunderers of America juſtly deſerved. The names of Mexico, Peru, and Potoſi, no longer make us ſhudder; and yet we are men! Even at this day, when the ſpirit of juſtice and the ſentiments of humanity are inculcated in all our writings, and are become the invariable rule of our judgments; a navigator, who ſhould come into our ports with a veſſel laden with riches avowedly obtained by methods equally barbarous, would land amidſt the general acclamations of the multitude. Where is then that wiſdom, which is ſo

* About 144 l.

much

much the boaſt of the preſent age? What is then that gold, which removes from us the idea of vice, and prevents us from feeling that ſenſe of horror which the ſhedding of blood naturally impreſſes us with? There are undoubtedly ſome advantages annexed to a medium of exchange between nations, to an external repreſentation of all ſorts of value, to a common eſtimate of all labours. But would not greater advantages have ariſen, if nations had continued in a ſtate of tranquillity, detached from each other, ignorant, and hoſpitable, than thus to have become corrupted with the moſt ferocious of all paſſions?

THE origin of metals has not always been well underſtood. It was long thought that they were as old as the creation. It is now believed, with greater reaſon, that they are formed ſucceſſively. In fact, it is impoſſible to doubt, that nature is continually in action, and that ſhe exerts herſelf with as much power in the bowels of the earth, as in the regions of the ſky.

EVERY metal, according to the chemiſts, has for its principle an earth which conſtitutes and is peculiar to it. It preſents itſelf to us, ſometimes in the form that characterizes it, and ſometimes under various appearances, when it requires a degree of habit and ſkill to recognize it. In the firſt caſe it is called native, in the ſecond mineralized ore.

METALS, whether native or mineralized, are ſometimes ſcattered by fragments in beds of earth that are horizontal or inclined. But this is not the place of their origin. They have been conveyed

veyed thither by great vulcanos, floods, and earthquakes, which are continually ſubverting our miſerable planet. They are commonly found, ſometimes in regular veins, and ſometimes in detached maſſes, within the rocks and mountains where they were formed.

According to the conjectures of naturaliſts, from theſe large caverns which are perpetually heated, there ariſe continual exhalations. Theſe ſulphureous and ſaline liquors act on the metallic particles, attenuate, and divide them; and put them in motion within the cavities of the earth. They unite again; and then, becoming too heavy to ſupport themſelves in the air, they fall, and are heaped up one upon another. If, in their ſeveral motions, they have not met with other bodies, they form pure metals; which they do not if they happen to be combined with foreign ſubſtances.

Nature, which ſeems to have intended to conceal theſe metals, has not been able to ſecrete them from the avidity of man. From repeated obſervations, we are led to diſcover the places where there are mines. They are uſually found in mountains, where plants grow with difficulty, and ſoon fade; where trees are ſmall and crooked; where the moiſture of dews, rains, and even ſnows, is ſoon dried up; where ſulphureous and mineral exhalations ariſe; where the waters are impregnated with vitriolic ſalts; and where the ſands contain metallic particles. Though each of theſe marks, ſeparately conſidered, be ambiguous, it ſeldom

ſeldom happens, when all of them are united, but that the earth contains ſome mine.

But what are the terms on which we extract this treaſure or this poiſon from thoſe caverns where nature had concealed it? We muſt pierce rocks to an immenſe depth; we muſt dig ſubterraneous channels, to carry off the waters which flow in and menace us on every ſide; we muſt convey into immenſe galleries the wood of whole foreſts cut into props; we muſt ſupport the vaults of theſe galleries againſt the enormous weight of the earth which perpetually tends to fill them up, and to bury in their ruins thoſe avaricious and preſumptuous men who conſtructed them; we muſt dig canals and aqueducts; we muſt invent hydraulic machines of aſtoniſhing and various powers, and all the ſeveral kinds of furnaces; we muſt hazard being ſuffocated or conſumed by a vapour which takes fire from the glimmering flame of the lamps, without which the work could not be carried on; and we muſt at laſt periſh by a conſumption, which reduces human life to one half of its duration. If we conſider how many obſervations, experiments, and trials, all theſe works imply, we ſhall carry the origin of the world far beyond its known antiquity. To ſhew us the gold, iron, copper, tin, and ſilver, uſed in the earlieſt ages, is to amuſe us with an idle ſtory which can only impoſe upon children.

When the labour of mineralogy is finiſhed, that of metallurgy begins. Its object is to ſeparate metals from each other, and to detach them from the extraneous bodies which invelope them.

In

In order to separate the gold from the ſtones which contain it, it is ſufficient to break them in pieces and reduce them to powder. The matter thus pulverized is afterwards triturated with quickſilver, which combines itſelf to this precious metal, but without forming any union, either with the rock, or ſand, or even the earth, which were mixed with it. By means of fire, the mercury is afterwards diſtilled, which, on ſeparating, leaves the gold at the bottom of the veſſel in the ſtate of a powder which is purified in the coppel. Native ſilver requires no other preparations.

But when ſilver is combined with other ſubſtances, or with metals of a different nature, great knowledge and conſummate experience are requiſite to purify it. Every circumſtance authoriſes us to think that this art is unknown in the new world. It is alſo generally acknowledged, that the miners of Germany or Sweden would find, in a mine that has already been worked, more wealth than the Spaniard had already extracted out of it. They would enrich themſelves by mines, which, through want of ſkill, have been rejected as inſufficient to defray the expences of working them.

The art of the Mexicans, ſuch as it was, was yet infinitely inferior to that of their oppreſſors. They had conſequently leſs ſilver than gold. Theſe metals were not employed by them as a medium of exchange: they were only objects of ornament, or mere curioſity.

For ſome time after their conqueſt, the Spaniards ſpared themſelves the trouble, toil, and expences, that are inſeparable from the working of mines,

mines. They wreſted from the Mexicans all the metals which they had amaſſed from the foundation of their empire. The temples, the palaces of the nobility, the houſes of private perſons, the meaneſt hovels, were all ſearched and pillaged. Though the abhorrence the Indians had for their tyrants made them bury again in the ground great part of their treaſure, or throw ſtill more into the great lake and the rivers, yet avarice found enough to ſatisfy itſelf. This ſource being exhauſted, it became neceſſary to attend to the mines.

THESE were at firſt ſearched for in all parts, but eſpecially on the ſea-coaſts. Experience having ſhewn that the mines neareſt the ocean afforded leaſt treaſure, they were quitted with diſguſt. At preſent no mine is worked that is not at a very great diſtance from the northern ſea, where it would be expoſed to the incurſions, and, perhaps, to the invaſions of the Europeans. The mines that are found on the gulph of California appear to remain in perfect ſecurity, till theſe latitudes became better known and more frequented. The chief of them are in the provinces of Zacatecas, New Biſcay, and Mexico, ſituated in the inland parts of the empire, where there are no navigable rivers, and where it is impoſſible for an enemy to penetrate by land. Theſe mines may employ forty thouſand Indians, under the direction of four thouſand Spaniards.

THE mines belong to the perſon who diſcovers them. The only regulation he is ſubject to is to have ſamples approved by the government. As much

much of the ground is granted to him as he chooſes; but he is obliged to give to the owner of the land a piaſtre, or five livres five ſous * per foot. The third of what he purchaſes belongs to government; which, after having abſurdly attempted to get it worked on its own account, at length diſpoſes of it to any one who will purchaſe it, giving the miner the preference. All the mines that are abandoned become alſo the property of the crown.

The government receives 420 livres † for every quintal of mercury that is uſed. In vain have intelligent people repreſented that this exceſſive tax neceſſarily diſcouraged induſtry; no attention has been paid to their remonſtrances. All the effect they have had is the obtaining of two years credit, for which, however, intereſt is required. It is ſeldom that thoſe who undertake to work mines are able to proceed without theſe indulgences. Theſe uncertain and hazardous enterprizes are ſcarcely ever attempted, unleſs by men whoſe affairs are embarraſſed, or who are totally ruined.

The point which diſcourages men of prudence and good circumſtances is the obligation of paying to government a fifth of the ſilver, and a tenth of the gold, they have extracted from the earth. The ſtate had a long time objected to this difference of taxation; but has been obliged to conſent to it, becauſe the gold mines, being more precarious than thoſe of ſilver, were totally abandoned. Both will ſoon be unable to pay the tri-

* About 4s. 7d.

† 18l. 7s. 6d.

bute

bute impoſed on them. As gold and ſilver become more common in trade, their value is diminiſhed, and they repreſent a ſmaller proportion of merchandiſe. This decreaſing value of metals would have been attended with ſtill greater conſequences, if the expences of working the mines had not been gradually leſſened. This œconomy is carried very near as far as it can go; and whenever that happens, the court of Madrid will be under a neceſſity of lowering the duties, unleſs it ſubmits to have the beſt mines neglected, as the indifferent ones have been. Perhaps, the government will ſoon be obliged to content itſelf with two reals or twenty-ſix ſous * per mark, which it receives for the duties of ſtamping and coining.

The mint of Mexico annually coins about 65,000,000 livres †; the ſixth part nearly in gold, the reſt in ſilver. About the half of this paſſes into Europe, a ſixth part into the Eaſt Indies, a twelfth into the Spaniſh iſlands. The remainder is inſenſibly conveyed into foreign colonies, or circulates through the Spaniſh dominions; where it ſerves the purpoſes of the inland trade, and the payment of the taxes, which are conſiderable.

Taxes eſtabliſhed in Mexico.

Every male Indian, from eighteen to fifty, pays a poll-tax of 11 livres 16 ſous ‡, of which eight-ninths paſs into the coffers of government, and the reſt is deſtined to various uſes. The Meſtees, who are deemed Indians for the two firſt generations, and the free Mulattoes, are ſubject

* 1s. 1d.$\frac{1}{2}$. † 2,843,750l. ‡ About 10s.

to

to the ſame taxation. Negroe ſlaves are exempted from this, as the government receives 280 livres * for each on their entrance into the colony.

THE Spaniards, who are not yet ſo far degraded as to have a perſonal tribute impoſed upon them, are ſubject to all the other taxes. The moſt conſiderable of theſe is that of thirty-three per cent. on the value of all the merchandiſe that is ſent from Europe, which retains twenty-five of this under divers denominations, and eight of it is paid upon the landing of the goods in America. Notwithſtanding this ruinous tax, they are ſtill ſubject to the *alcavala*.

THE alcavala is a duty on every thing that is ſold or exchanged, and is paid as often as the ſale or exchange takes place. It was eſtabliſhed in the mother country in 1341, and it hath gradually advanced to ten per cent. on the value of merchandiſe ſold in wholeſale, and even to fourteen on all that is diſpoſed of in retail. Philip II. after the deſtruction of his fleet, ſo well known under the pompous title of the Invincible, was determined by his neceſſities to introduce this taxation into Mexico, as well as the other colonies. Though it ought to have been only a temporary tax, yet it has continued ever ſince. It is true, that it has not been augmented, and that it remains at two and a half per cent. as it was at firſt ſettled. The *cruciade* has not had the ſame ſtability.

THE cruciade is a bull which allows great indulgences, permits the uſe of eggs, butter, and

* 12 l. 5 s.

cheeſe,

cheese, during lent. The government, to whom the court of Rome gave up the benefits arising from it, had divided the persons who were willing to avail themselves of it into four classes. This indulgence was paid, by those who lived by their industry, at the rate of two livres six sous *. Those, whose capital amounted to 10,500 livres †, paid five livres five sous ‡; those, who were worth more than 58,600 livres §, paid ten livres ten sous ‖; the viceroy, and persons in the high offices of state, paid fifty-two livres ten sous **. It was left to every man's conscience, who was apprized that nothing would be gained by not proportioning his contribution to his fortune. Mexico alone then paid about 2,600,000 livres ††. It is probable that this superstition has since declined, as the bull was fixed in 1556 by the ministry at forty sous ‡‡ for persons of every rank. Government obliges no one to apply for the indulgence; but the priests would refuse the comforts of religion to those who should not have purchased it; and perhaps there is not in all Spanish America a man sufficiently enlightened, or bold enough, to oppose this tyranny.

One species of oppression, not so patiently submitted to, is the duty lately imposed on salt and tobacco. The people, who suffered their former injuries without murmuring, have been highly incensed at these innovations. One of them ap-

* About 2s. † Near 460l. ‡ About 4s.
§ About 2560l. ‖ About 9s. 2d. ** About 2l. 4s.
†† Near 114,000l. ‡‡ 1s. 9d.

peared so repugnant to their natural rights, and the other was so contrary to one of their most favourite inclinations, that, though long trained to submission, they at length revolted. The atrocious conduct of the farmers of the revenues greatly added to the discontent. It has shewn itself from one end of the empire to the other, and has at last even reached Europe. Some means have been used to palliate this evil; but the minds of the people are still in a degree of ferment that the mother country will not easily appease without some sacrifice. One of the most agreeable to its colonies would be that of stamped paper.

Independent of the regular tributes which Spain exacts of her colonies, she raises in times of distress, under the denomination of loan, considerable sums, of which she hath never paid either the interest or the capital. This oppression, which began in the reign of Philip II. hath been continued to our time. It was more frequently repeated under Philip V. than in the course of the other reigns, which contributed not a little to render the French name odious in these countries. The tax, which was levied on all who possessed any fortune, was more severe at Mexico than any where else; because the Europeans, Creoles, Mestees, Mulattoes, and especially the Indians, were there in more affluent circumstances. The public prosperity has been greatly diminished in this country by these revenue laws, and is every day still more impaired by the rapaciousness of the clergy.

The clergy rigorously collect the tenth of every produce. The functions of their profession are paid them at an extravagant price. Their lands are immense, and every day they acquire a greater extent of territory. They are thought to be in possession of the fourth of the revenues of the empire. The bishop of Angelos alone has an income of 1,260,000 livres *. By this wealth the number of ecclesiastics has increased to such a degree, that they now constitute the fifth part of the white people. Some of them were born in the colony; but the greatest part are adventurers come from Europe, in order to withdraw themselves from the authority of their superiors, or to make their fortune expeditiously.

The revenue of the crown is not what it ought to be. The duties fixed on importations from Cadiz and on the ores, the quicksilver, the poll-tax, the imposts, the royal domain, are such great objects, that we cannot avoid being greatly surprized, when we see that the sovereign annually draws from Mexico, though the best-conducted of his possessions, no more than about 6,300,000 livres †. The rest, that is to say, almost the whole, is absorbed by the civil and military government of the country, which are both in the utmost disorder.

The finances are a prey to the vast number of agents that are stationed every where; to corregidors who have the administration of provinces; to the commandants of towns; to three superior

* About 55,100l. † 276,000l.

councils of juſtice, known by the name of Audiences; to men inveſted with full power, or to inferiors, who gain the confidence of perſons in office. A part of theſe plunders comes to Europe; the remainder ſerves to maintain the pride, luxury, indolence, and profligacy, of a few Mexican towns, but chiefly of the capital.

The Mexicans, who for a time might have been at a loſs to determine whether the Spaniards were a band of plunderers or a conquering people, ſaw their capital almoſt totally deſtroyed by thoſe cruel wars in which it was engaged. Cortez ſoon rebuilt it; and it has ſince been extended and embelliſhed.

Its ſtreets are broad, ſtrait, and interſect each other at right angles. The houſes are roomy enough, but have neither convenience nor ornament. None of the public edifices, that are ſhewn with the greateſt oſtentation to travellers, recall to the remembrance the finer days of architecture, nor even the better remains of the Gothic times. The principal ſquares have a fountain in the center, and are pretty regular: but this is all their merit. There is a walk with a jet d'eau, where eight avenues meet, where the trees have a form and foliage not very agreeable to the eye. Superſtition has amaſſed treaſures from all the quarters of the globe in numberleſs churches, though there is not one that raiſes the ſoul to any ſublime ideas, or that can fill the heart with pleaſing ſentiments.

The air of this city is very temperate; woollen clothing is worn there all the year. The leaſt precautions

precautions are sufficient to prevent any inconveniences from the heat. Charles V. asked a Spaniard, on his arrival from Mexico, how long the interval was there between summer and winter: *Just as long*, replied he, with great truth and wit, *as it takes to pass out of sunshine into the shade.*

The city is built in the center of a great lake; a very narrow slip of land divides it into two parts. That part of the lake whose water is soft, calm, and full of fish, falls into the other which is salt, generally agitated, and without fish. The circumference of this whole lake, which is unequal in its extent, is about thirty leagues.

There is no generally received opinion with regard to the origin of these waters. According to the most common and probable one, they issue from a large and lofty mountain situated to the south-west of Mexico, and the salt water runs through a tract impregnated with minerals, which communicate to it that quality.

Before the conquest, Mexico, and many other towns situated on the border of the lake, were exposed to inundations, which rendered them dangerous to live in. Dikes, constructed with incredible expence and labour, were not always sufficient to divert the torrents which poured down from the mountains. The Spaniards have been subject to the same calamities. Most of their buildings, though constructed with care, and supported on piles, after a few years, sink four, five, or six feet in a soil that is not firm enough to support them.

These inconveniences ſuggeſted the idea of a contrivance for draining off the waters. Accounts, that were prodigiouſly exaggerated, aſſure us that in 1604 four hundred ſeventy-one thouſand one hundred and fifty-four Indians were employed in digging a canal for this purpoſe. In order to raiſe a fund ſufficient to anſwer the expences, one hundredth part of the value of houſes, lands, and merchandiſe, was exacted; a tax hitherto unknown in America. Ignorance, diſcouragements, and particular intereſts, made this noble and wiſe undertaking miſcarry.

The viceroy Ladeyrera, in 1635, thought that it would be of advantage, and even abſolutely neceſſary, to build Mexico on another ſpot. Avarice, incapable of making any ſacrifice; pleaſure, ever afraid of interrupting its enjoyments; idleneſs, which dreads trouble; all the paſſions united themſelves to thwart an idea, which in itſelf was liable to ſome objections.

The new efforts that have ſince been made, to render living in this country as ſafe as it is agreeable, have not proved altogether ſucceſsful: whether this may be owing to their not having been properly exerted, or that nature has thrown inſurmountable obſtacles in the way, Mexico remains ſtill expoſed to the fury of the waters; and the dread of inundations has greatly diminiſhed its population. Moſt hiſtorians aſſure us, that it formerly contained more than two hundred thouſand ſouls; at preſent it has not above fifty thouſand. This number is compoſed of Spaniards, Meſtees, Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, of

ſuch

ſuch a diverſity of heterogeneous races from the white to the black, that among an hundred faces one ſhall hardly find two of the ſame colour.

Before this emigration, riches had increaſed in Mexico to an incredible degree. Every thing which in other countries is made of iron and copper, was here made of ſilver or gold. Theſe brilliant metals, as well as pearls and precious ſtones, were employed to adorn their horſes and ſervants, were uſed for the moſt common utenſils, and for the meaneſt purpoſes. The manners of the country, which are always conformable to the luxury that prevails, correſponded with this ſtile of romantic magnificence. The women, in their palaces, were waited upon by thouſands of ſlaves, and never appeared in public without a retinue which amongſt us is reſerved for the majeſty of a throne. To theſe extravagancies the men added profuſions ſtill greater for negro women whom they publickly raiſed to the rank of their miſtreſſes. This luxury, which was ſo enormous in the ordinary courſe of life, exceeded all bounds upon occaſion of the ſlighteſt feſtival. General pride then exerted itſelf, and each man laviſhed millions as an excuſe for his own. The crimes, neceſſary to ſupport this extravagance, were previouſly atoned for; as ſuperſtition had pronounced every man holy and juſt who ſhould contribute liberally to the churches.

The riches, and the pomp naturally attendant upon them, muſt neceſſarily have diminiſhed at Mexico, in proportion as thoſe who poſſeſſed them removed to Angelos and other towns. The

advantages, however, which this capital enjoys of being the center of the empire, the ſeat of government, the place where the coin is ſtruck, the reſidence of the greateſt proprietors of land and of the moſt opulent merchants, have always occaſioned the principal affairs of the kingdom to be tranſacted here.

Connections of Mexico with the reſt of America, with the EaſtIndies, and with Europe.

THE trade which Mexico carries on with the other parts of America is much confined. By the north ſea it receives from Maracaybo and Caracos cocoa greatly ſuperior to its own, and negroes by the way of the Havannah and Carthagena; it gives in exchange meal and ſilver.

ITS connections with the South Sea are of greater utility to it, without being much more conſiderable. Originally Peru was allowed to ſend annually to New Spain two veſſels, whoſe united cargoes were not to exceed one million ten thouſand livres *. This trade was ſome time afterwards reduced to half. It was totally ſuppreſſed in 1636, on pretence that it prejudiced the trade of the mother country by the quantity of Eaſt India goods it imported. The merchants of Lima complained a long time, but ineffectually, of a barbarous law, that deprived them of the double advantage of ſelling the ſuperfluities of their commodities, and of receiving thoſe they wanted. The communication between the two colonies was at length reſtored, but with reſtrictions which prove that the government had not been actuated by wiſe and political motives, but had only

* Above 44,000 l.

yielded

yielded to importunity. Since this period, ſome veſſels, diſpatched from Callao and Guayaquil, carry cocoa, wines, and brandies, to Acapulco and Sonſonnate on the coaſt of Guatimala, and bring back pitch, tar, arnotto, indigo, cochineal, iron, the haberdaſhery wares of Angelos, and as many contraband goods as poſſible from the Philippine iſlands, ſo celebrated in Europe on account of the connections which they have with Mexico. The importance of this communication ſeems to require that we ſhould trace its origin.

When the court of Madrid, whoſe ambition increaſed with their proſperity, had formed the plan of a great eſtabliſhment in Aſia, their attention was ſeriouſly engaged in conſidering of expedients to inſure its ſucceſſes. This project was neceſſarily attended with great difficulties. The riches of America ſo powerfully attracted the Spaniards, who conſented to a voluntary exile, that it did not appear poſſible to engage them to ſettle at the Philippines, unleſs it was agreed to give them a ſhare in the treaſures of thoſe iſlands. This ſacrifice was reſolved upon. The riſing colony was authoriſed to ſend every year into America India goods, in exchange for metals.

This unreſtrained freedom was attended with ſuch important conſequences, that the jealouſy of the mother-country was excited. Tranquillity was in ſome meaſure reſtored, by reſtraining to 3,150,000 livres * the trade allowed to

* Near 138,000 l.

be

be carried on in future. This ſum was divided into twelve thouſand equal ſhares. Every head of a family was to have one, and perſons in office a number proportioned to their rank. Religious communities were included in this arrangement, according to the extent of their credit, and the opinion that was entertained of their utility. Five hundred of theſe ſhares were allowed to the Jeſuits, whoſe employments and enterprizes ſeemed to require greater encouragement.

The veſſels which departed at firſt from the iſland of Cebu, and afterwards from the iſland of Luconia, originally took the route of Peru. The length of this voyage was prodigious. Trade-winds were diſcovered, which opened a much ſhorter paſſage to Mexico; and this branch of commerce was tranſacted on its coaſt, where it was ſettled.

Every year, in the middle of July, a galleon is ſent out from the port of Manilla, which is commonly from eighteen hundred to two thouſand tons burden. After getting clear of a multitude of iſlands and rocks which delay its courſe, it ſteers eaſt-north-eaſt, in order to meet with the weſt winds in thirty degrees latitude, which carry it on in a ſtraight courſe to the place of its deſtination. This veſſel, which is very heavy laden, is ſix months on her paſſage, becauſe the ſailors who are on board, from their extreme timidity, never carry the main-ſail in the night-time, and often lower all their ſails without the leaſt occaſion. At laſt the ſhip arrives at Mexico.

The

The coaſts of this great empire are not like thoſe of Peru, where the vicinity and heights of the Cordeleras afford a perpetual ſpring, and cauſe regular and mild winds to blow. As ſoon as the ſhip has paſſed the latitude of Panama, the free communication of the atmoſphere, from eaſt to weſt, not being any longer interrupted by this prodigious chain of mountains, the climate becomes different. In fact, navigation in theſe latitudes is ſafe and eaſy from the middle of October to the beginning of May; but, during the reſt of the year, the violent ſqualls of the weſterly wind, the dreadful ſtorms, the exceſſive rains, the ſuffocating heats, the total calms; all theſe obſtacles, which are either combined, or ſucceed each other, render the ſea troubleſome, and even dangerous. Throughout this whole extent of coaſt, which comprehends more than ſix hundred leagues, there is not a ſingle bark to be ſeen, nor even the leaſt canoe, either for trade or fiſhing. Even the ports, which are ſcattered up and down here, are open, defenceleſs, and expoſed to the inſults of any pirate who may be inclined to attack them. The port of Acapulco, where the galleons arrive, is the only one that has attracted the attention of government.

Ships arrive there by two inlets, ſeparated from each other by a ſmall iſland: the entrance into them in the day is by means of a ſea-breeze, and the ſailing out in the night-time is effected by a land-breeze. It is defended only by a bad fort, forty-two pieces of cannon, and a garriſon of ſixty men. It is equally extenſive, ſafe, and commodious.

dious. The baſon which forms this harbour is ſurrounded by lofty mountains, which are ſo dry that they are even deſtitute of water. The air here is burning, heavy, and unwholeſome, to which no perſons can habituate themſelves, except certain negroes that are born under a ſimilar climate, or ſome mulattoes. The number of inhabitants in this feeble and miſerable colony is conſiderably increaſed upon the arrival of the galleons; traders reſorting here from all the provinces of Mexico, who come to exchange European toys, their own cochineal, and about ten millions * of ſilver, for ſpices, muſlins, printed linens, ſilks, perfumes, and the gold works of Aſia. After ſtaying here about three months, the veſſel reſumes its courſe to the Philippine iſlands before the firſt of April, with one or two companies of infantry, that are appointed to recruit the garriſon of Manilla. Part of the riches with which it is laden remains in the colony; the reſt is diſtributed among the nations which had contributed to form its cargo.

The long paſſage, which the galleons have to make, has occaſioned the neceſſity of looking out for places where they might take in refreſhments. The firſt that has been met with of this kind is on the route from Acapulco to the Philippines, in thoſe iſlands known at firſt by the name of the Ladrones, and ſince by that of Marianne iſlands. They were diſcovered by Magellan in 1521. They were at firſt neglected; the galleons afterwards

* 437,500 l.

uſed

uſed to put in there for refreſhment; but there was no regular ſettlement made in them till the year 1678.

These iſlands are ſituated at the extremity of the South Sea, near four hundred leagues to the eaſt of the Philippines. Notwithſtanding their poſition in the torrid zone, the climate is moderately temperate. The air is pure, the ſky ſerene, and the ſoil fruitful. Before their intercourſe with the Europeans, the inhabitants, who were always naked, lived only on fruits, roots, and fiſh. As fiſhing was their uſual and ſole occupation, they had conſtructed canoes, more perfect than any that have ever been found in the reſt of the world.

The people, who are very numerous, and are diffuſed in twelve iſlands, that are the only inhabited ones in this archipelago, have gradually diminiſhed ſince the invaſion of the Spaniards, either by contagious diſorders, or by the bad uſage which they have experienced. The remainder, to the number of two thouſand ſeven hundred perſons, have collected themſelves in the center of the iſland of Guam, which may have from twenty-five to thirty leagues of circumference. It is garriſoned by a hundred men, who are appointed to defend two ſmall forts that are ſituated on two harbours, one of which receives a ſmall veſſel, which every two years arrives here from the Philippine iſlands, and the other is deſtined to furniſh refreſhments to the galleon. This laſt fort is ſo bad a one, that the veſſel never ſtays here more than two days, and in that ſhort time it is often expoſed to very great dangers. It is very extraordinary, that Spain has

has not endeavoured to diſcover a better harbour; or very ſingular, that no one has been found in ſuch a multitude of iſlands. California preſents an aſylum more ſecure to the galleons that ſail from the Philippine iſlands to Acapulco.

California is properly a long neck of land, which proceeds from the northern coaſts of America, and runs along between eaſt and ſouth as far as the torrid zone: it is waſhed on each ſide by the pacific ocean. The part that is known of this peninſula is three hundred leagues long, and ten, twenty, thirty, or forty broad.

It is impoſſible that, throughout ſuch an extent of country, the nature of the ſoil and the temperature of the air ſhould be every where the ſame. It may be ſaid, however, that, in general, the climate here is dry and exceſſively hot; the ground bare, ſtony, mountainous, ſandy, and conſequently barren, and unfit for agriculture and breeding cattle. Amidſt the ſmall number of trees that are found here, the moſt uſeful is the pitahaya, the produce of which conſtitutes the principal food of the Californians. Its branches, which are fluted and perpendicular, have no leaves, and it is from the ſtems that the fruit grows. It is prickly like the Indian cheſnut; but its pulp reſembles that of the fig, with this advantage, that it is much ſweeter and more delicate.

The ſea, which is richer than the land, ſwarms with moſt excellent fiſh of every kind. But the circumſtance which renders the gulph of California of more importance is the pearls, which, in the fiſhing-

fiſhing-ſeaſon, attract the inhabitants of all the provinces of New Spain.

The Californians are well-made, and very ſtrong. They are extremely puſillanimous, inconſtant, indolent, ſtupid, and even inſenſible. They are more ſwarthy than the Mexicans. This difference of colour proves that the civiliſed life of ſociety ſubverts or totally changes the order and laws of nature, ſince we find under the temperate zone a ſavage people that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone.

Before the Europeans had penetrated into California, the natives had no form of religion; and that of their government was ſuch as might be expected from their ignorance. Each nation was an aſſemblage of ſeveral cottages, more or leſs numerous, that were all mutually confederated by alliances, but without any chief. They were ſtrangers even to filial obedience. No kind of dreſs was in uſe among the men; but the women covered thoſe parts which nature intended ſhould be concealed with extreme care.

Whether theſe particulars were known or not, certain it is that Mexico was no ſooner reduced, and tranquillity eſtabliſhed, than the plan was laid for the conqueſt of California. Cortez landed there in 1526. He had not even time to take a ſurvey of it, becauſe he was obliged to return to his government, where the report of his death had diſpoſed the people to a general inſurrection. The ſeveral attempts that have ſince been made, to form an eſtabliſhment there, have all been unſucceſsful. The endeavours of the court were not

not more fortunate than thoſe of individuals. If we pay the leaſt attention to the ſpirit that directed theſe enterpriſes, we ſhall find that want of humanity, courage, and perſeverance, was the cauſe of theſe misfortunes. There was not a ſingle expedition that was not ill-concerted or imprudently conducted.

SPAIN, diſpirited with her loſſes and expences, had entirely given up the conqueſt of California, when the Jeſuits in 1697 ſolicited permiſſion to undertake it. As ſoon as they had obtained the conſent of government, they began to execute a plan of legiſlation, which they had formed from accurate ideas of the nature of the ſoil, the character of the inhabitants, and the influence of the climate. Their proceedings were not directed by fanaticiſm. They arrived among the ſavages whom they intended to civilize with curioſities that might amuſe them; corn for their food, and apparel which could not but pleaſe them. The hatred theſe people bore to the Spaniſh name could not ſupport itſelf againſt theſe demonſtrations of benevolence. They teſtified their acknowledgments as much as their want of ſenſibility and their inconſtancy would permit them. Theſe faults were partly overcome by the religious inſtitutors, who purſued their project with a degree of warmth and reſolution peculiar to their ſociety. They made themſelves carpenters, maſons, weavers, and husbandmen; and by theſe means ſucceeded in imparting knowledge, and in ſome meaſure a taſte for the moſt uſeful arts, to this ſavage people, who have been all ſucceſſively formed into one body.

body. In 1745, they compoſed forty-three villages, that were ſeparated from each other by the barrenneſs of the ſoil and the want of water. This republic will augment, in proportion as the ſucceſſors of thoſe who formed it ſhall proſecute their labours towards the north, where, according to a plan that was judiciouſly concerted, a communication was to be eſtabliſhed between the miſſionaries of the peninſula, and thoſe of the continent. They are only divided by the river Colorado.

The inhabitants of theſe ſmall villages ſubſiſt principally on corn and pulſe, which they cultivate, and on the fruits and domeſtic animals of Europe, the breeding of which is an object of continual attention. The Indians have each their field, and the property or what they reap; but ſuch is their want of foreſight, that they would ſquander in a day what they had gathered, if the miſſionary did not take upon himſelf to diſtribute it to them as they ſtand in need of it. They already manufacture ſome coarſe ſtuffs. The neceſſaries they are in want of are purchaſed with pearls, which they fiſh in the gulph, and with wine nearly reſembling that of Madeira, which they ſell to New Spain and to the galleons; and the uſe of which, experience hath ſhewn, it is neceſſary to prohibit among them.

A few laws, that are very ſimple, are ſufficient to regulate this riſing ſtate. In order to inforce the obſervance of them, the miſſionary chuſes the moſt intelligent perſon of the village; who is impowered to whip and impriſon, the only puniſhments of which they have any knowledge.

In all California there are only two garrisons, each conſiſting of thirty men, and a ſoldier with every miſſionary. Theſe troops were choſen by the legiſlators, and are under their orders, though they are paid by the government. The court of Madrid ſaw no inconvenience in leaving theſe trifling forces in the hands of thoſe who had acquired their confidence; and it has been demonſtrated to them, that nothing but this expedient could have prevented the oppreſſion of their new ſubjects.

They will continue happy as long as no mines are diſcovered in their territory. If there are any mines, as there is great reaſon to preſume from the number there are on the other ſide of the gulph, whenever they are found out, the edifice, that has been reared with ſuch labour and underſtanding, will be at once ſubverted. Theſe people, like many others, will diſappear from the face of the earth. The gold, which the Spaniſh government would draw from California, would deprive it of the advantages which its policy may now find in the labours of its miſſionaries; who ſhould rather be encouraged to purſue their uſeful undertakings. They might, perhaps, enable the court of Madrid to build forts, which would allow them to behold with tranquillity the diſcovery of that paſſage by the north weſt to the Pacific ocean, which the Engliſh have ſo long been in ſearch of. It has alſo been imagined, that theſe ramparts might prove a barrier againſt the Ruſſians, who, in 1741, advanced within twelve degrees of Cape Mendocino, the moſt northern part that has hitherto been known

known of California. But if it had been remarked that this voyage could not be undertaken but from the ſeas of Kamtſchatka, it would have been evident that none but weak armaments could be fitted out there, which could only ſerve to gratify curioſity, and conſequently could not occaſion the leaſt diſquietude.

An advantage more certain, and leſs remote, is the facility which California gives of reducing the provinces that extend from the other ſide of the gulph to the river Colorado. Theſe rich countries are at ſuch a diſtance from Mexico, and ſo difficult of acceſs, that it appeared as dangerous to attempt the conqueſt of them, as uſeleſs to execute it. The liberty, the ſafety of the ſea of California, ought to encourage the undertaking, will furniſh the means of ſucceeding in it, and ſecure the advantages accruing from it. Philoſophers themſelves will invite the court of Madrid to undertake theſe expeditions, as ſoon as they ſhall have ſeen them ſolemnly abjure thoſe fanatical and deſtructive principles upon which their policy has hitherto been founded.

But till Spain ſhall adopt theſe important views, California ſerves for a port of refreſhment for ſhips that ſail from the Philippine iſlands to Mexico. Cape St. Lucas, ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of the peninſula, is the place where they touch. There they find a good harbour, refreſhments, and ſignals which give them information of the appearance of any enemy in theſe latitudes, which are very dangerous, and where they have been the moſt frequently attacked. It was in 1734 that the galleon arrived there for the firſt time; where it

has ever ſince been ordered, or compelled by neceſſity to ſtop.

The ſyſtem, adopted by all the ſtates of Europe, of holding colonies in the moſt abſolute dependence on the mother country, has always made the connexions of Mexico with Aſia ſuſpicious to ſeveral of the Spaniſh politicians. The opinion which has prevailed, and is ſtill maintained, that it is not poſſible to preſerve the Philippine iſlands, without this communication, has alone prevented its being broken. Nothing more has been done than to limit it, by hindering Peru from having any ſhare in it. This vaſt empire has by ſevere and repeated laws been deprived of the advantage of drawing directly from the eaſt the merchandiſe it wanted, and even of the liberty of deriving it indirectly from New Spain.

These reſtraints were diſapproved by the bold and fertile genius of Alberoni. Full of the moſt extenſive views for the proſperity and glory of that monarchy which he attempted to reſtore, he purpoſed to retain in it the treaſures of the new world, to which it had hitherto ſerved only as a mart. According to his plan, the eaſt was to furniſh all the articles of dreſs to the Spaniſh colonies and to the mother country itſelf, which would have received them through the channel of its colonies. He expected with reaſon that thoſe powers, whoſe intereſts this arrangement would prejudice, and whoſe trade it would ruin, would endeavour to obſtruct it; but he made preparations for oppoſing their attacks in the European ſeas, and he had already given orders for

for putting the coaſts and harbours of the South Sea in a condition not to fear the efforts of any feeble ſquadrons that might come upon them.

These views were defective in point of judgement. Alberoni, hurried away by the enthuſiaſm of his opinions, and by his hatred againſt thoſe nations which were deſirous of oppoſing his political deſigns, did not perceive, that the ſilks and linens, that would be imported into Spain by the way he propoſed, would bear ſuch an exceſſive price as would neceſſarily put a ſtop to the conſumption of them. With regard to the project of cloathing the people of North and South America from Aſia, it appears to be a very ſenſible one.

The coloniſts would then be cloathed more agreeably, at a cheaper rate, and in a manner better adapted to the climate; the wars of Europe would not expoſe them to the riſque of being in want of the moſt common and neceſſary articles of life; they would become more wealthy, be better affected to their mother country, and better enabled to defend themſelves againſt any enemies that might attack them. Theſe enemies themſelves would prove leſs formidable; becauſe they would gradually loſe the ſtrength which the furniſhing of Peru and Mexico with proviſions procures them. In a word, Spain, by receiving on India goods the ſame duties as it receives on thoſe with which it is furniſhed by its rivals, would loſe no part of its revenues. It might even, upon emergences, obtain from its colonies ſuccours, whic at preſent they

have neither the diſpoſition nor the power of granting. We ſhall inſiſt no longer on the commerce of Mexico with the Eaſt Indies; let us now ſpeak of its connections with Europe by the north ſea, and begin with that which the productions of Guatimala form.

The province of Guatimala, which is one of the largeſt of New Spain, was conquered in 1524 and 1525 by Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortez's lieutenants. He built in it ſeveral towns, and in particular the capital, which bears the name of the province. It is ſituated in a valley about three miles broad, and bounded by two mountains that are pretty lofty. From the mountain towards the ſouth run ſeveral rivulets and fountains, which delightfully refreſh the villages that are ſituated on the declivity, and keep up a perpetual ſucceſſion of flowers and fruits. The aſpect of the mountain, that is to the north, is terrible. There is no verdure ever ſeen upon it; nothing but aſhes, and calcined ſtones. A kind of rumbling noiſe, which the inhabitants aſcribe to the boiling of metals that are in a ſtate of fuſion within the caverns of the earth, is continually heard. From theſe internal furnaces iſſue flames and torrents of ſulphur, which fill the air with an horible infection. Guatimala, according to the expreſſion of the country, is ſituated between paradiſe and hell.

Its poſition, and its diſtance from Mexico and Guadalajara, have occaſioned it to be fixed upon for the ſeat of an audience, which extends its juriſdiction over three hundred leagues to the ſouth,

ſouth, an hundred to the north, ſixty to the eaſt, and twelve to the weſt, towards the South Sea. The advantages it derived from this diſtinction ſoon formed it into a conſiderable colony, which took care to improve thoſe gifts that nature had beſtowed upon it. There is no country in this part of the new world where ſhe hath laviſhed her bleſſings with greater profuſion. The air here is very wholeſome, and the climate very temperate. Poultry and game are in the greateſt plenty, and of an excellent flavour. No ſpot on the earth produces better corn. The rivers, lakes, and ſea, every where abound with excellent fiſh. The oxen are here multiplied to ſuch a degree, that it is become neceſſary to kill all that are grown wild on the mountains, leſt they ſhould prejudice agriculture by their exceſſive numbers.

This fertility, however, is not the circumſtance that renders Guatimala ſo valuable to the mother country. Spain has properly no connection with this colony but by means of the indigo ſhe acquires from it; which is far ſuperior to any that the reſt of America produces. In the cultivation of it ſome negroes are employed, and a part of thoſe Indians who have ſurvived the tyranny of their conquerors. The labours of theſe ſlaves annually ſupply Europe alone with two thouſand five hundred ſurrons of indigo, which ſell one with another at Cadiz for 1680 livres *. This rich produce is conveyed upon

* 73 l. 10 s.

mules, with ſome other articles of leſs conſequence, to the town of St. Thomas, ſituated ſixty leagues from Guatimala, at the extremity of a very deep lake which loſes itſelf in the gulph of Honduras. Here theſe commodities always remain till they are exchanged for others that are brought from Europe in veſſels of a moderate ſize, which commonly arrive in the months of July and Auguſt. On their return, their cargo is increaſed by ſome ſkins, ſome caſſia, and ſome ſarſaparilla, which are the only articles the province of Honduras furniſhes, though it be an hundred and fifty leagues long, and ſixty or fourſcore broad. The reputation it had firſt acquired, from its golden mines, was but tranſitory: they ſank into total oblivion, after having proved the grave of nearly a million of Indians. The territory theſe Indians inhabited remains uncultivated and waſte; it is now the pooreſt part of all America. Both the people and the lands were ſacrificed to the ſearch after gold; and the gold itſelf by no means anſwered the expectations that were formed of it.

GUATIMALA nearly furniſhes the whole of thoſe 6,000,000 livres *, which is the amount of its productions joined to thoſe of Honduras. The lake on which theſe riches are all accumulated is entirely open, though it would have been very eaſy to have ſecured it from every attack; more eſpecially as its entrance is rendered narrow by two high rocks, which project on each ſide within

* 262,500 l.

cannon

cannon-ſhot of each other. It is probable that Spain will not alter her conduct till ſhe has ſuffered for her negligence; which ſhe might eaſily be made to do.

THE veſſels that ſhould undertake this expedition might anchor in perfect ſafety in the road. A thouſand or twelve hundred men, landing at St. Thomas, might paſs over the mountains for the ſpace of fifteen leagues, where they would find commodious roads and ſubſiſtence. The reſt of their way would be acroſs plains that are well peopled and plentiful. They would then arrive at Guatimala, in which there is not a ſingle ſoldier, nor the leaſt fortification. Its forty thouſand ſouls, Indians, Negroes, Meſtees, and Spaniards, who have never ſeen an enemy, would be incapable of making the leaſt reſiſtance. In order to ſave their lives, they would deliver up the immenſe riches that they have been accumulating for more than two centuries, which would amount at leaſt to thirty millions *. The troops would reimbark with this booty, and, if they choſe it, with hoſtages that would ſecure their retreat. The trade of Campeachy would be expoſed to the ſame invaſion, if it were of ſufficient importance to juſtify the undertaking.

BETWEEN the gulphs of Campeachy and Honduras we find a large peninſula, called Jutacan. Though this peninſula has neither river nor brook, the water is every where ſo near to the land, and the ſhells are in ſuch great abundance, that

* 1,312,500 l.

it

it is manifeſt this immenſe ſpace was formerly part of the ſea. When the Spaniards diſcovered it, they found few inhabitants there, little agriculture, and no metals; in conſequence of which it was deſpiſed. They afterwards found that the trees which grew there were fit for dying; and they therefore built the town of Campeachy upon it, which became the mart of the valuable production that gave it its name.

If this tree were not ſo thick, it would not be unlike the white thorn. Its leaves are ſmall, and of a pale-green colour. The inner part of the tree, which is at firſt red, becomes black after it has been felled ſome time. It is only this inner part that gives the black and the violet colour.

Campeachy has been indebted to the ſingle traffick of this article for the advantage of being a very conſiderable market. It received every year ſeveral veſſels, whoſe cargoes were diſtributed in the inland countries, and which took in return wood and metals which this exchange drew thither. This proſperity was continually increaſing till the time that the Engliſh ſettled at Jamaica.

Amidst the vaſt numbers of pirates which were continually coming from this famous iſland, ſeveral went to cruiſe in the bay of Campeachy, to intercept the veſſels which ſailed there. Theſe plunderers were ſo little acquainted with the value of the wood, which was the only production of the country, that, when they found barks laden with

with it, they took away nothing but the iron utenſils. One of them having carried off a large veſſel, which had nothing elſe but the logwood on board, brought it into the Thames, deſigning only to equip it as a privateer; when, contrary to his expectation, he ſold at a very high price the wood which he had thought to be of ſo little value, that he had always burnt it during his voyage. After this diſcovery, the pirates, who were not ſucceſsful at ſea, never failed to repair to the river of Champeton, where they took on board the piles of wood which were always found ranged on the ſhore.

THE peace of the Engliſh with Spain having put a ſtop to the depredations of theſe pirates, ſeveral of them employed themſelves in cutting Indian wood. Cape Catoche furniſhed them at firſt with abundance. As ſoon as they perceived it diminiſh, they went to ſettle between Tabaſco and the river of Champeton, about Lake Triſte, and in Beef Iſland, which is very near it. In 1675 their numbers amounted to two hundred and ſixty. Their ardour, which at firſt was extreme, ſoon gave way; and the habit of idleneſs prevailed. As the greateſt part of them were excellent markſmen, the chace became their predominant paſſion; and their former inclination to plunder was re-kindled in them by this exerciſe. They ſoon began to make inroads into the Indian towns, the inhabitants of which they carried off. The women they appointed to wait on them; and the men they ſold at Jamaica, or other iſlands. The Spaniards, rouſed from their lethargy by theſe enormities, ſurpriſed

ſurpriſed them in the midſt of their debaucheries, and carried them off. Moſt of them were even taken in their cottages: they were led priſoners to Mexico, where they ended their days in the mines.

THOSE who eſcaped took refuge in the gulph of Honduras, where they were joined by ſome wandering freebooters of North America. In proceſs of time they increaſed to fifteen hundred men. The ſtate of independence and plenty in which they lived rendered the marſhy country they inhabited agreeable to them. Strong intrenchments ſecured them and their proviſions; and they confined themſelves to thoſe employments, which their unhappy companions lamented that they had ever neglected. They only took care not to penetrate into the interior part of the country, to cut wood, without being well armed.

THEIR induſtry was crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs. In reality, the tun of wood, which had been ſold as high as nine hundred livres *, was gradually fallen to a very low price; but this diſadvantage in the price was compenſated by the quantity that was ſold. The cutters delivered up the produce of their labours, either to the people of Jamaica, who brought them Madeira wine, ſtrong liquors, linens, and cloaths; or to the Engliſh colonies of North America, which ſupplied them with proviſions. This commerce, which was always carried on by ſmugglers, and which occaſioned much clamour, became lawful in 1763. The liberty of cutting logwood was ſecured to

* 39l. 7s. 6d.

Great

Great Britain; but ſhe was not permitted to raiſe forts, and was even obliged to deſtroy thoſe which had been built. The court of Madrid ſeldom hath made any conceſſions with greater regret than this of eſtabliſhing in the center of its poſſeſſions an active, powerful, and ambitious nation. But there is an expedient to render even this conceſſion almoſt uſeleſs.

The province of Jucatan is divided from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, that is, throughout almoſt its whole extent, by a chain of mountains. To the north of theſe mountains is the bay of Campeachy, whoſe dry and thirſty ſoil produces logwood of a ſuperior quality, which is ſold at all markets at near double the price of that which the Engliſh cut at the ſouthern bay of Honduras, where the rich and almoſt marſhy ſoil produces only a baſtard kind, and which yields much leſs dye. If, as the expreſſions of the treaty, which admit of ſome latitude, lead us to apprehend, Great Britain hath acquired only the right of ſettling in thoſe places which its ſubjects had uſurped, Spain may put an end to her anxiety on this point, by encouraging the cutting of its own wood, which is more valuable, in ſuch a manner as to furniſh all Europe with a ſufficient quantity for their conſumption. By this judicious policy, ſhe will ruin the Engliſh colony, and without force get rid of a neighbour much more dangerous than ſhe imagines; ſhe will then regain an important branch of trade, which for a long time hath been ſo conſiderably reduced, that Campeachy receives from the mother-country no more than a ſingle veſſel every three or four years.

years. The wood, which cannot be brought away by this ſhip, is carried off by ſmall veſſels to Vera-Cruz, which is the true point of union between Mexico and Spain.

Old Vera-Cruz ſerved at firſt for a mart. This town, founded by Cortez on the very ſpot where he firſt landed, is ſituated on a river, which is dry one part of the year, but which in the rainy ſeaſon is capable of receiving the largeſt veſſels. The danger to which the ſeamen were expoſed, in a ſituation where nothing defended them againſt the violence of the winds ſo common in theſe latitudes, induced them to ſeek for more ſecure ſhelter; which they found eighteen miles lower down on the ſame coaſt. There they built New Vera-Cruz, at ſeventy-two leagues diſtance from the capital of Mexico.

New Vera-Cruz is ſituated in a climate rendered diſagreeable by a burning ſun, and by exceſſive heats, and unwholeſome by continual rains. It is bounded on the north by dry ſands, and on the weſt by infectious moraſſes. Its ſtreets are ſtraight, but the houſes are built of wood. No nobility are to be met with here, and the merchants always prefer living at Angelos. The ſmall number of Spaniards, who are fixed either by avarice or by indigence in ſo wretched and dangerous a place, live in a ſtate of privacy and with a degree of parſimony that are unknown in all other commercial places.

The fortifications of the town conſiſt of a wall, eight towers erected at different diſtances, and two baſtions which command the ſhore. Theſe works,

weak

weak in themſelves and ill-conſtructed, are in an extremely ruinous ſtate; ſo that for the defence of the place they depend only on the fortreſs of St. Juan de Ulloa, that is built on a rock fronting the town, and at the diſtance of a mile from it.

This harbour has the diſadvantage of not being able to hold more than thirty or thirty-five veſſels, which are not always ſheltered from the northern winds. The entrance into it is by two channels only, which are ſo narrow as to admit but one ſhip. The ſea in the neighbourhood is likewiſe extremely dangerous on account of ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which the Spaniards called Cayos, and a great number of rocks almoſt even with the ſurface of the water, and ſcarcely to be perceived. It was imagined that nothing but a complete knowledge of the ſituation, acquired by many years experience, could have ſurmounted theſe obſtacles; but, notwithſtanding this, they were overcome by certain deſperate pirates, who ſurpriſed the place in 1712; towers were then conſtructed on the ſhore, where vigilant ſentinels are continually on guard for the common ſafety.

It is into this harbour, which is properly the only one there is in the gulph, that the fleet arrives, whoſe deſtination is to furniſh Mexico with European merchandiſe. It is fitted out at Cadiz every two, three, or four years, as occaſions and circumſtances require. It ordinarily conſiſts of fifteen or twenty merchant ſhips; and is eſcorted by two men of war, or a greater number, if requiſite.

WINES, brandies, and oils, conſtitute the moſt bulky part of the cargo. Gold and ſilver ſtuffs, gold and ſilver lace, cloths, linen, ſilks, laces, hats, jewels, diamonds, and ſpices, compoſe the richeſt part.

THE fleet ſets out from Europe in the month of July, but at the lateſt in the beginning of Auguſt, in order to avoid the dangers to which it would be expoſed from the violence of the north wind in the open ſea, eſpecially at the landing places, if it ſhould ſet ſail in any other ſeaſon. In its paſſage it takes in refreſhments at Porto Rico, and repairs to Vera Cruz, from whence its cargo is conveyed to Xalapa. In this town, which is ſituated twelve leagues from the harbour on the back of a mountain, and well built, is held a fair, which is limited by the laws to ſix weeks, but which ſometimes is prolonged at the ſolicitation of the merchants of the country or thoſe of Spain. The proportion which the value of gold and ſilver bears to that of the merchandize is the circumſtance that determines the gain or loſs of exchanges. If one of theſe articles is in greater plenty than the other, great prejudice reſults to the ſeller or buyer. Formerly the royal treaſure was ſent from the capital to Vera Cruz, to wait the arrival of the fleet there; but, ſince this key of the new world was pillaged by pirates in 1683, it waits the arrival of the ſhips, and ſtops at Angelos, which is only thirty-five leagues diſtant.

WHEN the tranſactions are finiſhed, the gold, ſilver, cochineal, leather, vanilla, logwood, and ſome goods of inconſiderable value which Mexico furniſhes,

furniſhes, are put on board. The fleet then directs its courſe for the Havanna, where, after being joined by ſome regiſter-ſhips diſpatched to different ports, it arrives at Cadiz by the channel of Bahama.

In the interval between the ſailing of one fleet and the other, the court of Spain ſends out two men of war, which they call Azogues, to carry to Vera-Cruz the quickſilver that is neceſſary for working the mines of Mexico. The quickſilver was originally drawn from Peru; but the commiſſions were ſo uncertain, ſo ſlow, and ſo frequently fraudulent, that in 1734 it was judged to be more convenient to ſend it from Europe. The mines of Guadalcanal at firſt furniſhed the means. Theſe were afterwards forſaken for the richer mines of Almeda in Eſtramadura. The Azogues, to which two or three merchant-ſhips are ſometimes joined that can only carry ſome fruits of Spain, are laden in return with the produce of thoſe goods that have been ſold ſince the departure of the fleet, or of thoſe which had been delivered on credit.

If any thing ſhould be left behind, it is commonly brought by the ſhips of war which Spain builds at the Havanna, and which always paſs to Vera-Cruz before they ſet ſail for Europe. Affairs are conducted in a different manner at Peru, as will be ſhewn in the ſubſequent book.

BOOK VII.

Conqueſt of Peru by the Spaniards. Changes that have happened in this Empire ſince that revolution.

BOOK VII.

Expeditions that preceded the diſcovery of Peru.

COLUMBUS had no ſooner gained a firm eſtabliſhment on the iſland of San Domingo than he proſecuted his reſearches. In one of his voyages he diſcovered the Oronooko, and in the other the bay of Honduras. He clearly ſaw that what he had found was a continent; and his genius led him further than merely to ſuſpect that beyond this continent was another ocean, which muſt terminate at the Eaſt-Indies. It was poſſible that theſe two ſeas might have a mutual communication, and he diligently employed himſelf in finding it out. In order to make this diſcovery, he ſailed as cloſe along the coaſt as poſſible. He touched at all places that were acceſſible; and, contrary to the cuſtom of the navigators of his time, who behaved in the countries where they arrived in ſuch a manner as if they were never to return to them, he treated the inhabitants with equity, attention, and humanity, and by this method ſucceeded in gaining their affection. The iſthmus of Darien particularly engaged his obſervation. He thought that the rivers, which poured into it, were an arm of the great ocean, which uniting by a narrow ſtrait, the ſeas of South

South and North America ſeemed to open to his wiſhes the paſſage and communication he was in ſearch of. After he had explored theſe rivers with extreme attention, and found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations, he contented himſelf with founding a ſettlement. The pride, mercenary diſpoſition, and imprudence of his companions, excited the indignation of the natives of the country, who at firſt appeared tolerably well diſpoſed to permit this eſtabliſhment. The Spaniards were obliged to reimbark and ſail away in veſſels which were not in a condition to keep the ſea any longer.

The intelligence, however, which was obtained, was not entirely loſt. Veſpucius, Ojeda, Lacoſa, Pinçon, Roldan, Nino, Lopez, Baſtidos, Solis, and Nicueſſa, followed the path which Columbus had traced out for them. Theſe adventurers, who had only received from their government a permiſſion to make diſcoveries, in order to ſatisfy the vain glory of the nation, rather than to extend its dominions, thought neither of forming ſettlements which might be cultivated, nor of eſtabliſhing commercial connections with the ſmall nations which they diſcovered. The proſpect of fortunes, which might have been made in future by theſe prudent meaſures, was an idea too much above the prejudices of theſe barbarous times. Even the reaſoning, which might have led them to the knowledge of theſe advantages, would not have imparted a ſufficient impulſe to animate them. Nothing but the allurement of immediate gain could excite men to enterpriſes ſo hazardous as were

thoſe for which this age was diſtinguiſhed. Gold alone attracted them to the continent of America, and made them brave dangers, diſeaſes, and death, which they were expoſed to in the courſe of their voyage, at their arrival, or on their return; and, by a terrible but juſt vengeance, the cruelty of the Europeans and their luſt of gold exhauſted at once the two hemiſpheres of their inhabitants, and deſtruction raged equally among thoſe who were the plunderers and aſſaſſins, as among the plundered people.

Among the number of villains who ravaged, depopulated, and deſtroyed, theſe unhappy coaſts of a world which was no ſooner diſcovered than it was exterminated, there was one man who had naturally an agreeable aſpect, a robuſt conſtitution, an intrepid courage, and a popular eloquence, and who had imbibed ſome principles from a liberal education. His name was Vaſco Nugnes de Balboa. Finding at Darien, where there was a greater abundance of riches than in any other places, a ſmall number of Spaniards whom this circumſtance alone had attracted there, he put himſelf at their head, with the deſign of forming a permanent ſettlement. He found at firſt in the country ſome of that ſame ſpecies of little white men, as are to be met with in Africa and in certain of the Aſiatic iſlands. They are covered with a down of a gliſtening white colour. They have no hair, their eyes are red, and they only ſee well in the night time. They are feeble, and their faculties appear to be more circumſcribed than thoſe of other men. Theſe ſavages were few in number;

number; but others of a different ſpecies were found on the coaſt. Theſe were brave and hardy enough to defend their liberty. They had a very extraordinary cuſtom among them, which was, that the huſbands on the death of their wives, and the wives on the death of their husbands, uſed to cut off the end of a finger; ſo that by looking on their hands one might ſee whether they were widowers or widows, and how often they had been ſo.

NOTHING has ever been or will probably ever be ſaid, that can ſatisfactorily explain the various perverſions of human reaſon. If the women alone had been obliged to cut off a finger at the deceaſe of their husbands, it would be natural to ſuſpect that this had been intended to prevent a widow from impoſing upon a ſecond husband, who might imagine her to be a virgin, from having no knowledge of her former connection; a thing very likely to happen among wandering nations. But this conjecture would loſe its force, when applied to the husbands, whoſe condition could never be a matter of ſuch conſequence, as that it ſhould be carefully indicated by indelible ſigns. This cuſtom hath obtained in other countries; but the following is peculiar to Darien.

WHEN a widow died, ſuch of her children, whoſe tender age rendered it impoſſible for them to provide for their own ſubſiſtence, were buried in the ſame grave with her. As no one would take the charge of theſe orphans, they were maſſacred, to prevent their being ſtarved to death. The charity of theſe barbarians extended no further. This is the moſt atrocious act to which the de-

plorable ſtate of ſavage life was ever able to impel mankind.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ferocity of theſe barbarians, Balboa ſucceeded in diſperſing the inhabitants of Darien, in ſubjecting them or gaining their confidence; and he ſettled his countrymen on their territory.

ONE day, as he was dividing ſome gold with one of his companions, a conteſt aroſe between them. A ſavage, incenſed at a rapaciouſneſs ſo repugnant to his manners, ſhook the ſcales ſo violently, that he overſet all the gold that was in them. *Since you quarrel for ſuch a trifle*, ſaid he to the two Spaniards, *and it is this metal which has made you quit your country, and diſturb ſo many nations, I will lead you to a place, where you ſhall be ſatisfied.* He fulfilled his engagement, and conducted Balboa, with one hundred and fifty Spaniards, acroſs a neck of land, ſixteen or ſeventeen leagues long, to the coaſt of the South Sea.

PANAMA, which was built there in 1518, opened a new and extenſive career to the reſtleſsneſs and avarice of the Caſtilians. The ocean, which waſhed its walls, conveyed them to Peru, whoſe riches were boaſted of in this part of the new world, though but in a vague manner. The reports that prevailed concerning the ſtrength of this immenſe empire, did not caſt a damp upon that ardour which its treaſures excited; and the world ſaw, without aſtoniſhment, three men, born in obſcurity, undertake at their own expence to ſubvert a throne that had ſubſiſted with glory for ſeveral centuries.

FRANCIS

Francis Pizarro, who is the moſt known among them, was the natural ſon of a gentleman of Eſtramadura. His education had been ſo neglected, that he could not read. Tending of flocks, which was his firſt employment, not ſuiting his character, he embarked for the new world. His avarice and ambition inſpired him with inconceivable activity. He joined in every expedition, and ſignalized himſelf in moſt of them; and he acquired, in the ſeveral ſituations in which he was employed, that knowledge of men and things, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to advancement, but in particular to thoſe who by their birth have every difficulty to contend with. The uſe he had hitherto made of his natural and acquired abilities, perſuaded him that nothing was above his talents; and he formed the plan of exerting them againſt Peru.

To theſe deſigns he aſſociated Diego de Almagro, whoſe birth was equivocal, but whoſe courage was proved. He had ever been found temperate, patient, and indefatigable, in thoſe camps in which he had grown old. In this ſchool he had acquired a frankneſs which is more frequently learnt here than in other ſituations; as well as that obduracy and cruelty which are but too common.

The fortune of two ſoldiers, though conſiderable, being found inſufficient for the conqueſt they meditated, they joined themſelves to Fernando de Luques. He was a mercenary prieſt, who had amaſſed prodigious wealth by all the methods which ſuperſtition renders eaſy to his profeſſion,

and by ſome means peculiar to the manners of the age he lived in.

As the baſis of their aſſociation the confederates mutually agreed, that each ſhould engage the whole of his property in this enterpriſe; that the wealth accruing from it ſhould be equally ſhared, and that they ſhould reciprocally obſerve an inviolable fidelity. The parts that each of them were to take in this great ſcene were diſtributed as the good of the common cauſe required. Pizarro was to command the troops, Almagro conduct the ſuccours, and Luques prepare the means. This plan of ambition, avarice, and ferociouſneſs, was completed by fanaticiſm. Luques publicly conſecrated a hoſt; part of which he ate, and divided the reſt between his two aſſociates; all three ſwearing, by the blood of their God, that, to enrich themſelves, they would not ſpare the blood of man.

The expedition, commenced under theſe horrible auſpices, was not fortunate; the meaſures being continually interrupted by famine, ſickneſs, and miſunderſtanding, by a profound ignorance of the theory of the winds and currents, and by the arms of the Indians; the adventurers found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of returning without having effected any eſtabliſhment, or done any thing worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. At the end of 1526, Panama received the wrecks of an armament, which two years before had excited its jealouſy.

Far from being diſcouraged by theſe misfortunes, the three aſſociates were inflamed with a more

more ardent paſſion for treaſures which were now better known to them. They imagined that they ſhould not fail of acquiring them, if they could diſengage themſelves from a dependence on the governor of Panama, who had oppoſed them, ſometimes openly, at other times clandeſtinely. The court of Spain granted them what they ſolicited, and their courage was now animated to greater exploits. In 1530 they fitted out three veſſels, on board of which they embarked one hundred fourſcore and five ſoldiers, thirty-ſeven horſes, arms, and proviſions. Theſe forces, which were ſucceſſively augmented by ſome inconſiderable reinforcements, were commanded by Pizarro; who, after a ſeries of extreme difficulties which his intrepid avarice ſurmounted, at laſt arrived at Tumbez, on the frontiers of Peru.

State of Peru when it was diſcovered.

If the Spaniards may be credited, Peru had been an extenſive and civilized empire for four centuries. It had been founded by Manco-Capac, and by his wife Mama-Ocello-Huaco. It has been conjectured, that theſe two perſons might be the deſcendents of certain navigators of Europe or the Canaries, who had been ſhipwrecked on the coaſts of Braſil.

To ſupport this conjecture, it has been ſaid, that the Peruvians divided the year, as we do, into three hundred and ſixty-five days; and that they had ſome notion of aſtronomy; that they were acquainted with the points of the horizon where the ſun ſets in the ſummer and winter ſolſtice, and in the equinoxes; marks which the Spaniards deſtroyed, as being monuments of Indian ſuperſtition.

It

It has been aſſerted, that the race of the Incas was whiter than that of the natives of the country, and that ſeveral of the royal family had beards; and it is a known fact, that there are certain features, whether ill-formed or regular, that are preſerved in ſome families, though they do not conſtantly paſs from generation to generation. And, laſtly, it has been ſaid, that it was a tradition generally diffuſed throughout Peru, and handed down from age to age, that there would one day arrive by ſea men with beards, and of ſuch ſuperiority in arms, that nothing could reſiſt them.

If there ſhould be any of our readers diſpoſed to adopt this opinion, they muſt neceſſarily allow that there muſt have elapſed a conſiderable ſpace of time between the ſhipwreck and the foundation of the Peruvian empire. If this is not admitted, we cannot explain why the legiſlator ſhould not have given the ſavages, whom he collected together, ſome notion of writing, though he ſhould not himſelf have been able to read; or why he ſhould not have taught them ſeveral of our arts and methods of doing things, and inſtructed them in certain tenets of his religion. Either it was not an European who founded the throne of the Incas, or we muſt neceſſarily believe that the veſſel of his anceſtors was wrecked on the coaſts of America at an æra ſo remote, that the ſucceeding generations muſt have forgotten all the cuſtoms of the place from whence they ſprang.

It was on an hilly country that Manco at firſt eſtabliſhed his empire. Perhaps, he found there people leſs barbarous, better diſpoſed to receive inſtruction,

inſtruction, and who had already begun to be civilized. It is far from being improbable that ſociety is formed much more ſlowly in countries that are fruitful, and abounding in vegetables, than in thoſe to which nature has been leſs bountiful. It is the want men have of aſſiſtance from each other, that more ſtrongly induces them to unite in ſociety; and this reciprocal dependence is more ſenſibly felt on barren mountains than in fruitful plains.

The two Legiſlators declared themſelves the children of the ſun. Undoubtedly they thought that this prejudice would animate the Peruvians, rouſe their courage, inſpire them with a greater attachment to their country, and make them more obedient to the laws. Was this fiction more abſurd than thoſe which have been ſo warmly embraced by ſome celebrated nations, which ſtill are our guides and our models?

By the help of this illuſion the empire of the Incas had flouriſhed under eleven ſovereigns, who were all prudent, humane, and juſt, when the emperor Huana Capac ſeized upon Quito. In order to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it, he married the only heireſs of the dethroned king, from whom he had a ſon named Atabalipa. This young prince, after the death of his father, demanded the inheritance of his mother. His elder brother Huaſcar refuſing to give it up to him, immediate recourſe was had to arms. The moſt ambitious of the two brothers was beaten, taken priſoner, and ſhut up in Cuſco, where he was afterwards ſtrangled. His fortunate rival,

rival, now elevated above his warmeſt expectations, found himſelf maſter of all the provinces.

These troubles, which for the firſt time had agitated Peru, were not entirely appeaſed when the Spaniards landed in the empire. The inhabitants who were deſirous of appeaſing the ſun, which they believed was incenſed againſt them, loaded theſe ſtrangers with preſents, ſhewed them the kindeſt offices, and manifeſted a reſpect for them which bordered on adoration. In the confuſion in which the whole kingdom was ſtill involved, no one thought of oppoſing Pizarro's march, who reached without the leaſt obſtruction to the palace of Caxamalca. He was but juſt arrived, when he received from Atabalipa, who was not far diſtant, a preſent of fruits, corn, emeralds, and ſeveral vaſes of gold and ſilver. The reception, which the court gave to his brother Fernando, correſponded with theſe advances. Civilities, treaſures, and marks of diſtinction, were beſtowed upon him with the greateſt profuſion. The emperor did not diſſemble his deſire that the Spaniards would quit his provinces; and he publicly declared that he would go the next morning to concert with their chief proper meaſures for this retreat.

To put himſelf in readineſs for an engagement, without ſuffering the leaſt preparation of war to be perceived, was the only diſpoſition that Pizarro made for the reception of the prince. He planted his cavalry in the gardens of the palace, where they could not be ſeen: the infantry was in the court; and his artillery was pointed towards the gate where the emperor was to enter.

ATABALIPA came without ſuſpicion to the place appointed. He was attended by about fifteen thouſand men. He was carried on a throne of gold, and gold glittered in the arms of his troops. He turned to the principal officers, and ſaid to them: *Theſe ſtrangers are the meſſengers of the Gods; be careful of offending them.*

THE proceſſion was now pretty near the palace, which was occupied by Pizarro, when a dominican, named Vincent de Valverdo, with a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other, came up to the emperor. He ſtopped him in his march, and, by his interpreter, made him a long ſpeech, in which he expounded to him the chriſtian religion, preſſed him to embrace that form of worſhip, and propoſed to him to ſubmit to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru.

THE emperor, who heard him with a great deal of patience, replied, *I am very willing to be the friend of the king of Spain, but not his vaſſal; the pope muſt ſurely be a very extraordinary man, to give ſo liberally what does not belong to him. I ſhall not change my religion for another; and if the chriſtians adore a God who died upon a croſs, I worſhip the ſun, who never dies.* He then aſked Vincent where he had learned all that he had ſaid of God and the creation. *In this Book*, replied the monk, preſenting at the ſame time his breviary to the emperor. Atabalipa took the book, examined it on all ſides, fell a laughing, and, throwing away the breviary, added, *This book tells me nothing of all this.* Vincent then turned towards the Spaniards,

Spaniards, crying out with all his might, *Vengeance, my friends, vengeance. Chriſtians, do you not ſee how he deſpiſes the goſpel? Kill theſe dogs, who trample under foot the law of God.*

THE Spaniards, who probably had with difficulty reſtrained that fury, and that thirſt of blood, which the ſight of the gold and of the infidels had inſpired them with, inſtantly obeyed the dominican. Let the reader judge of the impreſſion that muſt have been made on the Peruvians by the ſight of the horſes who trampled upon them, and by the noiſe and effect of the cannon and muſketry which beat them down. They fled with ſuch precipitation, that they fell one upon another. A dreadful maſſacre was made of them. Pizarro himſelf advanced towards the emperor, made his infantry put to the ſword all that ſurrounded his throne, took the monarch priſoner, and purſued all the reſt of the day thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword of his ſoldiers. A multitude of princes of the race of the Incas, the miniſters, the flower of the nobility, all that compoſed the court of Atabalipa, were maſſacred. Even the crowd of women, old men, and children, who were come from all parts to ſee their emperor and the Spaniards, were not ſpared. Whilſt this carnage continued, Vincent ceaſed not to animate the aſſaſſins who were tired with ſlaughter, exhorting them to uſe not the edge but the point of their ſwords, to inflict deeper wounds. When the Spaniards returned from this infamous maſſacre, they paſſed the night in drunkenneſs, dancing, and all the exceſſes of debauchery.

IN

In the mean time Pizarro's thoughts were engaged in contriving how he ſhould get rid of his priſoner. Vincent ſaid that he was a hardened prince, who ought to be treated like Pharaoh. There was in the train of the Spaniſh general an Indian, who had embraced the chriſtian faith. His name was Philipillo, and he was employed as interpreter. He was fixed upon to frame an accuſation againſt the emperor, for having deſigned to excite his ſubjects to rebel againſt the tyrants. On this ſole depoſition, Atabalipa was condemned to death. The Spaniards had the effrontery to bring him to a formal trial; and this atrocious farce was followed with thoſe horrid conſequences that muſt neceſſarily be expected from it.

After this judiciary aſſaſſination, Pizarro penetrated into the inland parts of the empire. Cuſco opened to him its gates, and offered him more treaſures than there were perhaps in all Europe before the diſcovery of the new world. Theſe treaſures became the ſpoil of two hundred Spaniards, who, though in poſſeſſion of ſuch immenſe riches, ſtill deſired more; impelled by that thirſt of gold which increaſes in proportion as it is gratified. Temples and private houſes were ſtripped from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Peruvians were oppreſſed in all parts, and rapes committed every where on their wives and daughters.

The people driven to deſperation took up arms, and laid ſiege at once to Cuſco and Lima: but theſe unfortunate men in ſeveral engagements were not able to deſtroy more than ſix hundred of their enemies; who, continually receiving freſh ſupplies, were

were at laſt univerſally victorious. In a little time the Spaniards in Peru amounted to the number of three thouſand muſketeers, without reckoning pikemen, archers, and cavalry. The Peruvians were under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to the yoke, ſuch as the tyrants choſe to impoſe on them.

A REVOLUTION ſo remarkable hath been a ſubject of aſtoniſhment to all nations. Peru is a country very difficult of acceſs, where one muſt continually climb mountains, and perpetually march in narrow paſſes and defiles. Troops are there obliged to be inceſſantly paſſing and repaſſing torrents and rivers, the banks of which are always ſteep. Four or five thouſand men, with a moderate ſhare of courage and ſkill, might deſtroy the moſt numerous and beſt diſciplined armies. How then could it poſſibly happen, that a whole nation did not even attempt to diſpute a territory, the nature of which was ſo well known to them, againſt a few plunderers who had not the leaſt idea of it?

THIS extraordinary event cannot be otherwiſe accounted for, than by conſidering that the Peruvians were ſeized with ſudden fear, which was the effect of their ignorance and aſtoniſhment; that their diſorderly multitude could not ſtand againſt a ſmall number of diſciplined forces, and that courage unarmed could not reſiſt cannon-ſhot. Thus, without having recourſe to that vain prophecy which proclaimed the Spaniards as the avengers of the Gods, Peru muſt neceſſarily have been ſubdued, even though the domeſtic diſſentions with which it was then agitated had not facilitated its ſubjection.

THE

THE empire which now received the Spaniſh yoke had been governed for four centuries, or perhaps more, by a race of conquerors, who appeared to have extended their conqueſts with no other view than to promote the happineſs of the human ſpecies. They deſcended from a legiſlator, who could not, perhaps, have been paralleled in hiſtory, if Confucius had not had one advantage over him, that of not having introduced ſuperſtition, to inſure allegiance and obedience to his laws.

MANCO CAPAC, who collected together the ſavages of Peru that were ſcattered among the foreſts, ſtyled himſelf the offspring of the ſun, who was ſent by his father to teach men to be good and happy. He perſuaded a great number of ſavages to follow him; and he founded the city of Cuſco.

HE taught his new ſubjects to cultivate the ground, to ſow corn and pulſe, to wear cloaths, and to build houſes. His wife taught the Indian women to ſpin, to ſmooth cotton and wool; and inſtructed them in all the occupations ſuitable to their ſex, and in all the arts of domeſtic œconomy.

HE told them they muſt adore the ſun; he built temples to this luminary, and aboliſhed human ſacrifices, and even thoſe of animals. His deſcendents were the only prieſts of his nation.

To a religion replete with ſentiments of humanity were joined parental laws. A moſt wiſe inſtitution enjoined that a young man, who ſhould commit a fault, ſhould be ſlightly puniſhed; but that his father ſhould be reſponſible for him. Thus it

was that ſound morals were always inculcated by a good education.

Polygamy was prohibited; and adultery in both ſexes puniſhed. No one was allowed to have concubines except the emperor, and that becauſe the race of the ſun could not be too much multiplied. Theſe concubines were ſelected from among the virgins conſecrated to the temple.

Idleness was puniſhed as the ſource of wickedneſs, and therefore as the greateſt of crimes. Thoſe, who from age and infirmities were rendered unfit for labour, were maintained at the public charge; but on condition that they ſhould preſerve the cultivated lands from the birds. Every one was obliged to make his own ſhoes, manage his own houſe, and conſtruct his plough. Women made the apparel; and every ſeparate family knew how to ſupply its own wants.

The Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumſtance induced them to it. Thoſe common labours, which were always enlivened by agreeable ſongs; the object itſelf of theſe labours, which was to aſſiſt every one who had occaſion for ſuccour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worſhip of the ſun, and diſtributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged, and to orphans; that union which muſt neceſſarily reign in the decuries, where every one was mutually inſpired with reſpect for the laws, and with the love of virtue, becauſe the puniſhments, that were inflicted for the faults of one individual, fell on the whole body; that cuſtom of regarding each other as members of one ſingle family,

family, which was the empire; all these circumstances united, maintained among the Peruvians concord, benevolence, patriotism, and a certain public spirit; and contributed as much as possible to substitute the most sublime and amiable virtues, in lieu of personal interest, of the spirit of property, and of the usual incentives employed by other legislators.

These virtues were rewarded with marks of distinction, as much as if they had been services rendered to the country. Those who had signalized themselves by an exemplary conduct, or by any distinguished actions of advantage to the public good, wore, as a mark of ornament, cloaths wrought by the family of the Incas. It is very probable that those statues, which the Spaniards pretended that they found in the temples of the sun, and which they took for idols, were the statues of men, who, by the greatness of their talents, or by a life replete with illustrious actions, had merited the homage or love of their fellow-citizens.

These great men were also usually the subjects of poems composed by the family of the Incas for the instruction of the people.

There was another species of poetry conducive to morality. At Cusco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were performed. The first were lessons of duty to the priests, warriors, judges, and persons of distinction, and represented to them models of public virtue. Comedies served for instruction to persons of inferior rank, and taught them the exercise of private virtues, and even of domestic œconomy.

THE whole ſtate was diſtributed into decuries, with an officer that was appointed to ſuperintend ten families that were intruſted to him. A ſuperior officer had the ſame inſpection over fifty families; others over a hundred, five hundred, and a thouſand.

THE decurians, and the other ſuperintending officers up to the ſuperintendant of a thouſand, were obliged to give an account to the latter of all actions whether good or bad, to ſolicit puniſhments and rewards for each, and to give information if there was any want of proviſions, cloaths, or corn, for the year. The ſuperintendant of a thouſand made his report to the miniſter of the Inca.

THE laws were ſevere, but this ſeverity was attended only with good effects. The Peruvians were ſtrangers to crimes. All their laws were reputed to come to them from the ſun, which threw light upon their actions. Thus the violation of a law became a ſacrilege. They even went of their own accord to reveal their moſt ſecret faults, and to ſolicit permiſſion to expiate them. They told the Spaniards, that there never had been one man of the family of the Incas who had deſerved puniſhment.

THE lands of the kingdom, that were ſuſceptible of cultivation, were divided into three parts, one appropriated to the ſun, another to the Inca, and the third to the people. The firſt were cultivated in common, as were likewiſe the lands of orphans, of widows, of old men, of the infirm, and of the ſoldiers who were with the army. Theſe were cultivated immediately after the lands appro-

appropriated to the ſun, and before thoſe of the emperor. The ſeaſon of this labour was announced by feſtivals: it was begun and continued with the ſound of muſical inſtruments, and the chanting of hymns.

THE emperor levied no tribute; and exacted nothing from his ſubjects, but that they ſhould cultivate his lands; the whole produce of which, being depoſited in public magazines, was ſufficient to defray all the expences of the empire.

THE lands dedicated to the ſun provided for the maintenance of the prieſts, and for the expence of conſecrating thoſe magnificent temples that were covered with gold, and whoſe roofs were of ſilver.

WITH regard to the lands that were in the poſſeſſion of individuals, they were neither hereditary, nor even eſtates for life: the diviſion of them was continually varying, and was regulated with ſtrict equity according to the number of perſons which compoſed every family. There was no other wealth, but what aroſe from the produce of the fields, the temporary enjoyment of which was all that was granted by the ſtate.

THIS cuſtom of moveable poſſeſſions has been univerſally cenſured by men of underſtanding. It has been their general opinion, that a nation would never riſe to any degree of power or greatneſs, but by fixed, and even hereditary property. If it were not for the firſt of theſe, we ſhould ſee on the globe only wandering and naked ſavages, miſerably ſubſiſting on ſuch fruits and vegetables as are the ſole and ſcanty production of rude nature. If it were not for the ſecond, every indi-

vidual would live only for himself; mankind would be deprived of every permanent advantage, that paternal affection, the love of a family name, and the inexpressible delight we feel in acting for the good of posterity, urge us to pursue. The system of some bold speculators, who have regarded property, and particularly that species of it which is hereditary, as an usurpation of some members of society over others, is refuted by the fate of all those institutions in which their principles have been reduced to practice. These states have all fallen to ruin, after having languished for some time in a state of depopulation and anarchy. Peru alone hath prospered on so uncertain a basis.

The reason probably is, that the Incas, not knowing the use of imposts, and having only commodities in kind to supply the necessities of government, must have been obliged to study how to multiply them. They were assisted in the execution of this project by their ministers, by inferior officers, and by the soldiers themselves, who received nothing but the fruits of the earth for their subsistence and the support of their rank. Hence arose a continual solicitude to increase these productions. This attention might have for its principal object the introduction of plenty into the lands of the sovereign; but his patrimony was so mixed and confounded with that of his subjects, that it was not possible to fertilize the one without fertilizing the other. The people, encouraged by these advantages, which left little scope to their industry, applied themselves to labours, which the nature of their soil, of their climate,

and

and of their conſumptions, rendered very eaſy. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages; notwithſtanding the ever-active vigilance of the magiſtrate; notwithſtanding the certainty, that their harveſts would never be ravaged by a reſtleſs neighbour; the Peruvians never enjoyed any thing more than the mere neceſſaries of life. We may venture to aſſert, that they would have acquired the means of diverſifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the introduction of rented, transferable, and hereditary property.

THE Peruvians, though at the very ſource of gold and ſilver, knew not the uſe of coin. They had neither commerce nor luxury; and the more minute arts, which owe their exiſtence to the immediate wants of ſocial life, were in a very imperfect ſtate among them. They had not even hieroglyphics, which among all nations were the firſt eſſays towards writing; and their *quippos*, which ſupplied the place of writing among them, were not ſo uſeful as the hieroglyphics of the Mexicans, nor even as thoſe of the Iroquois.

BUT the Peruvians having neither property, nor trade, nor ſcarcely any connection of mutual intereſt; moreover, being governed by maſters, whoſe will framed all thoſe tranſitory laws which regulated their manners, had very little occaſion for writing. All their ſciences conſiſted in memory, and all their arts in example. They learned their religion and their hiſtory by hymns, and their duties and profeſſions by labour and imitation.

THEIR legiſlation was undoubtedly very imperfect and limited, ſince it ſuppoſed the prince always juſt and infallible, and the magiſtrates poſſeſſed of as much integrity as the prince. Among a civilized people who had not the art of writing, the laws muſt have been fatal, when their cuſtoms did not determine the application and uſe of them; when not only the monarch, but his deputies, a ſuperintendant of ten, of a hundred, or of a thouſand, might change at pleaſure the deſtination of puniſhments and rewards. Among ſuch a people, the wiſeſt laws, being deſtitute of all preciſion and ſtability, muſt inſenſibly be corrupted; nor would there be a poſſibility of reſtoring them to their primitive character.

THE counterpoiſe to theſe dangers was found in their abſolute ignorance of gold and ſilver coin; an ignorance, which in a Peruvian deſpot rendered the fatal paſſion of amaſſing riches impoſſible. It was found in the conſtitution of the empire, which had fixed the amount of the ſovereign's revenue, by ſettling the portion of lands that belonged to him. It was found in the extremely ſmall number and moderate nature of the wants of the people, which, being eaſily gratified, rendered them happy and attached to the government. It was found in the influence of their religious opinions, which made the obſervation of the laws a matter of conſcience. Thus was the deſpotiſm of the Incas founded on a mutual confidence between the ſovereign and the people; a confidence, which reſulted from the beneficence of the prince, from the conſtant protection he granted to all his ſubjects,

ſubjects, and from the evident intereſt they had to continue in obedience to him.

A SPIRIT of pyrrhoniſm, which hath ſucceeded to a blind credulity, and hath been ſometimes carried to unjuſtifiable lengths, hath for ſome time endeavoured to raiſe objections to what has been juſt related of the laws, manners, and happineſs, of antient Peru. This account hath appeared to ſome philoſophers as chimerical, and formed only by the naturally romantic imagination of a few Spaniards. But among the deſtroyers of this diſtinguiſhed part of the new world, was there a ſingle ruffian ſufficiently enlightened to invent a fable ſo conſiſtent in all its parts? Was there any one among them humane enough to wiſh to do it, if he had even been equal to the task? Would he not rather have been reſtrained by the fear of increaſing that hatred, which ſo many cruelties had brought on his country throughout the whole world? Would not the fable have been contradicted by a multitude of witneſſes, who would have ſeen the contrary of what was publiſhed with ſo much pomp? The unanimous teſtimony of contemporary writers, and of their immediate ſucceſſors, ought to be regarded as the ſtrongeſt hiſtorical demonſtration that can poſſibly be deſired.

IT is not the ſame with regard to thoſe exaggerated relations, which the conquerors of Peru publiſhed concerning the grandeur and magnificence of the monuments of all kinds that they had found there. The deſire of adding great luſtre to the glory of their triumphs might poſſibly miſlead

lead them. Perhaps, without being convinced themſelves, they ſtudied to impoſe on their own country and on foreign nations. The firſt teſtimonies, and thoſe even were contradictory, have been invalidated by ſucceeding accounts, and at laſt totally deſtroyed, when men of enlightened underſtandings had viſited this celebrated part of the new hemiſphere.

We muſt, therefore, conſider as fabulous the report of that prodigious multitude of towns built with ſo much labour and expence. If there were ſo many ſuperb cities in Peru, why do none exiſt, except Cuſco and Quito, beſides thoſe the conqueror built? Whence comes it that we do not find even the ruins of any of thoſe of which ſuch pompous deſcriptions have been publiſhed?

We muſt conſider as fabulous the account of thoſe majeſtic palaces, deſtined for the accommodation of the Incas, in the place of their reſidence and in their travels. The royal manſions ſo much boaſted of were nothing but flints placed one upon another, and covered with a reddiſh clay.

We muſt conſider as fabulous the relation of thoſe fortified places, which defended the frontiers of the empire. Would it have been conquered in ſo ſhort a time, if it had been furniſhed with ſuch conſiderable means of defence? M. de la Condamine, who viſited with that ſcrupulous attention that diſtinguiſhes him the fort of Cannar, which is the beſt preſerved, and the moſt conſiderable after that of Cuſco, found it to be of very ſmall extent, and only ten feet high. A people, who knew not the uſe of pullies, could

hardly raiſe their buildings higher. The ſize of the ſtones, that were employed in building theſe fortreſſes, has not been leſs exaggerated. After the moſt careful examination, there was not found any one of a remarkable ſize. When theſe ſtones were to be tranſported, cords were faſtened to them, and a number of men puſhed, drew, and rolled the weight along. A nation, which had made no greater progreſs in mechanics, could not execute any great deſigns.

We muſt conſider as fabulous the hiſtory of thoſe reſervoirs and aqueducts, that are ſaid to have been worthy of the antient Romans. Neither of them were ever to be found in Peru, unleſs we chooſe to honour with theſe magnificent names certain trenches that were made, wherever there was an opportunity, on the declivity of hills, to collect rain or ſpring-water, and conduct it into the fields and vallies.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous the diſplay of thoſe ſuperb roads which rendered communication ſo eaſy. The great roads of Peru were nothing more than two rows of ſtakes diſpoſed in a line, and intended for no other purpoſe but to point out the way to travellers. There was no road of any conſequence, except that which bore the name of the Incas, and which traverſed the whole empire. This, which was the moſt beautiful monument of Peru, was entirely deſtroyed during the civil wars of the conquerors.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous what has been ſaid of thoſe bridges which are ſo much boaſted of. How could the Peruvians, who were ignorant

of

of the method of conſtructing arches, raiſe ſtone-bridges? But, had they even been acquainted with this art, would not their want of lime have rendered it almoſt impracticable? It is certain, however, that the traveller was every moment ſtopped in his paſſage by a great number of torrents he met with among the mountains. To enable him to paſs theſe, a long cord of oſier, on which ſlid a baſket that held at moſt four men, was extended from one bank to the other. The number of cords was afterwards multiplied, and hurdles were fixed upon them, by which a greater number of people croſſed at the ſame time. The Spaniards, who ſeem born to deſtroy, and not to build, have not failed to adopt ſo marvellous an invention.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous what hath been written on the ſignification of *quippos*. Theſe were, ſay the Spaniards, regiſters made of cords, in which, by means of different knots and different colours, the Peruvians expreſſed every thing they wiſhed. The remembrance of any eſſential points of hiſtory, manners, and ceremonies, was perpetuated by knots; and ſmall ſtrings, tied to the principal cords, recalled to their minds circumſtances of leſs importance. Theſe memoirs were depoſited in the cuſtody of officers appointed by public authority, and an entire confidence was placed in their integrity. In reality, theſe ſingular annals exhibited no regular narrative, and could only ſerve for certain calculations, or for preſerving the memory of ſome particular event.

THE Spaniards do not deſerve more credit, when they tell us of thoſe baths that were made of ſilver and gold, as well as the pipes that ſupplied them; of thoſe gardens full of trees, whoſe flowers were of ſilver, and the fruit gold, and where the eye, being deceived, miſtook art for nature; of thoſe fields of maize, the ſtems of which were of ſilver, and the ears of gold; of thoſe baſſo-relievos, in which the herbs and plants were ſo admirably exhibited, that whoever ſaw was tempted to gather them; of thoſe dreſſes covered over with grains of gold more delicate than the ſeed of pearl, and the workmanſhip of which the ableſt artiſts of Europe could not have equalled. We ſhall not ſay, that theſe works were not worthy to be preſerved, becauſe they never have been. If the Greek ſtatuaries in their compoſitions had only employed precious metals, it is probable that few of the capital productions of Greece would have reached us. But, if we may judge of what hath periſhed by what ſtill remains, we may be certain that the Peruvians had made no progreſs in the art of deſigning. The vaſes, which have eſcaped the ravages of time, will ſerve as a ſignal proof of the induſtry of the Indians to ſupply their want of iron tools; but they will never be conſidered as monuments of their genius. Several figures of animals, and of inſects, in maſſive gold, which were long preſerved in the treaſury of Quito, were not more perfect. We cannot any longer judge of them; for they were melted down in 1740, in order to furniſh ſuccours for Carthagena, that was then beſieged by the Engliſh; and there was not found in all Peru a Spaniard

Spaniard curious enough to purchaſe a ſingle piece at the bare weight.

From what has been ſaid, it appears clearly, that the Peruvians had made ſcarce any advances in the abſtract ſciences; they even wanted words to expreſs moral or metaphyſical ideas. Moſt of the ſciences depend on the progreſs of the arts, and theſe on accidents which do not occur naturally, but in a courſe of ſeveral centuries, and of which the greateſt part never happen among people who have no intercourſe with enlightened nations.

If we reduce all theſe accounts to the ſimple truth, we ſhall find that the Peruvians had arrived at the art of fuſing gold and ſilver; that they even poſſeſſed the ſecret, which is loſt in Europe, of giving copper a temper like to that we give to ſteel; but that, though they were acquainted with iron, they had never arrived at the knowledge of forging that metal, which is the very foundation of all arts. They never conceived the idea of baking bricks or tiles, the materials of which they had always at hand. They executed however things leſs commodious and more difficult. The view of torrents, which they ſaw hollowing out beds for themſelves in rocks, probably gave them the idea of cutting ſtones. With hatchets of flint, and inceſſant friction, they contrived to ſquare them, to make them anſwer to each other, to give them the ſame height, and to join them without cement. Unfortunately theſe inſtruments had not the ſame effect on wood, as they had upon ſtone. Thus it happened that the ſame men who ſhaped the granite, and who drilled the

the emerald, never knew how to join timber by mortiſes, tenons, and pins; it was faſtened to the walls only by ruſhes. The moſt remarkable buildings had only a covering of ſtraw, ſupported by poles, like the tents of our armies. They had only one floor, had no light but by the entrance, and it conſiſted only of detached apartments, that had no communication with each other.

But whatever were the arts which the Spaniards found in the country of the Incas, they could not prevent the empire from ſubmitting to its conquerors. A moment of reſiſtance longer, and perhaps the Peruvians had been free. The conquerors had differences to ſettle among themſelves, which did not admit of a diviſion of their forces.

Civil wars of the Spaniards after their conqueſt of Peru.

The firſt intelligence of Pizarro's ſucceſs had no ſooner been carried to Panama, but Almagro, his principal aſſociate, ſet out with the utmoſt expedition with new adventurers, to ſhare the treaſures, lands, and government of Peru. There was in this claim an appearance of equity, which the author of the diſcovery was not diſpoſed to admit. From that time jealouſy and hatred prevailed among them. There were two chiefs, two parties, and two armies; and ſoon after, by means of a forced accommodation, two governments.

From the colliſion of theſe factions neceſſarily reſulted diſturbances of a new kind. Civil wars commonly originate from tyranny and anarchy. A power without limits, and a liberty without reſtraint, muſt produce the ſame conſequences.

The

The magiſtrate looks upon the people only as ſo many rebels to his authority; and the people in their turns only regard him as an uſurper. Reaſon is not ſufficiently powerful to regulate claims ſo repugnant to each other. The deciſion of rights is referred to the ſword; and he who is victorious is found to have the beſt cauſe.

Though the intereſts which divided the Spaniards in Peru were not of ſuch importance, yet they were attended with the ſame if not greater exceſſes. Almagro and his adherents had paſſed the ſea for no other purpoſe than to enrich themſelves with the gold of the country. They had acquired leſs than their opponents, and therefore wanted to wreſt it from them by the ſword. Whether Pizarro thought his preſence neceſſary elſewhere, or whether, as he himſelf ſaid, he felt a reluctance to fight againſt his old friend, he committed to his brother Fernando the charge of conquering him; and his hopes were not diſappointed. Almagro was beaten, and made priſoner, on the banks of the Apurimac, on the 6th of April 1538. The conqueror, who had private revenge to gratify, judged that the author of theſe diſturbances ought not to live. This great ſacrifice he offered up, for the ſake, as he ſaid, of the public tranquillity.

The partiſans of Almagro, being diſperſed by the death of their chief, conducted themſelves with great prudence and circumſpection. The abſence of Fernando, who was gone to Europe, either to ſolicit a reward, or to juſtify his ſeverity, according to the diſpoſitions he ſhould find predominant

dominant at the court of Madrid, appeared to have extinguiſhed in their boſom all reſentment. They ſeemed to ſtudy nothing but how to obtain the good-will of the perſon who had it in his power to diſpenſe favours to all. By means of the confidence which they had the happineſs to inſpire, they lived without moleſtation, inſenſibly drew nearer to each other, and found a chief to head their united forces in the ſon of a man whoſe loſs they had never ceaſed to deplore. The death of Francis Pizarro was ſolemnly and unanimouſly decreed among them.

On the day fixed, which was in the month of June 1541, the conſpirators at mid-day croſſed the ſtreets of Lima. They had preferred the light of day to the obſcurity of the night, in order by that means to prepoſſeſs the multitude in favour of the juſtice of their projects, or the juſtneſs of their meaſures, and to prevent even an idea of an attempt to fruſtrate them. Their ſtratagem ſucceeded: no one gave the alarm; and the conqueror of ſo many vaſt kingdoms was quietly maſſacred in the center of a town that he had founded, and whoſe inhabitants were compoſed of his creatures, his ſervants, his relations, his friends, or his ſoldiers. Thoſe whom they judged moſt likely to revenge his death, were murdered after him: their fury ſpread itſelf, and every one who dared to ſhew himſelf in the ſtreets and in the ſquares was regarded as an enemy, and put to the ſword. Inſtantly the houſes and temples were filled with ſlaughter, and preſented nothing but mangled carcaſes. The ſpirit

of avarice, which induced them to consider the rich merely as partisans of the old government, was still more furious than that of hatred, and became more active, more suspicious, and more implacable. The representation of a place carried by assault by a barbarous nation would communicate but an imperfect idea of that spectacle of horror which these ruffians now exhibited, who wrested from their accomplices the booty of which they had disappointed them.

This cruel massacre was followed by enormities of another kind. The soul of young Almagro seems to have been formed for tyranny. Every one who had been in employment under the adversary of his family was inhumanly proscribed. The antient magistrates were deposed. The troops were put under the command of new officers. The royal treasury, and the wealth of those who perished or were absent, were seized upon by the usurper. His accomplices, attached to his fortune by being partakers of his crimes, were forced to give their support to undertakings which filled them with horror. Those among them who suffered their uneasiness at these proceedings to transpire, were either put to death in private, or perished on a scaffold. During the confusion, in which a revolution so unexpected had plunged Peru, several provinces submitted to this monster, who caused himself to be proclaimed governor in the capital: and he marched into the heart of the empire, to complete the reduction of every place that opposed, or hesitated to acknowledge him.

A MULTITUDE of ruffians joined him on his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his troops, the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had loſt his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the ſnares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvares, who had put himſelf at the head of the oppoſite party. He loſt, in attempting to unravel his plots, that time that he ought to have employed in fighting. In theſe circumſtances, an event, which no one could have foreſeen, happened to change the face of affairs.

THE licentiate Vaca di Caſtro, who had been ſent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was appointed to aſſume the government in caſe Pizarro was no more, all who had not ſold themſelves to the tyrant haſtened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealouſy, which had for too long a time kept them diſperſed, were no longer an obſtacle to their re-union. Caſtro, who was as reſolute as if he had grown old in the ſervice, did not ſuffer their impatience to languiſh, but inſtantly led them againſt the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th of September 1542, and fought with inexpreſſible obſtinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the cloſe of the day decided in favour of that party whoſe cauſe was the moſt juſt. Thoſe among the rebels who were moſt guilty, dreading to languiſh under diſgraceful tortures, provoked the conquerors to

murder them, crying out, like men in despair, *It was I who killed Pizarro.* Their chief was taken prisoner, and died on the scaffold.

While these scenes of horror were transacting in America, the Spaniards in Europe were employed in finding out expedients to terminate them; though no measures had been taken to prevent them. Peru had only been made subject to the audience of Panama, which was too remote to superintend the maintenance of good order, and had too little influence to make its decrees respected. A supreme tribunal was then established at Lima for the dispensation of justice, which was to be invested with authority sufficient to enforce and to reward a due obedience to the laws. Blasco Nunez Vela, who presided in it as viceroy, arrived in 1544, attended by his subordinates in office, and found every thing in the most dreadful disorder.

We must judge of those revolutions which are produced by civil wars by the causes from which they spring. When an abhorrence of tyranny and the natural love of liberty stimulate a brave people to take up arms, if the goodness of their cause is crowned with success, the tranquillity that follows this transitory calamity is an æra of the greatest happiness. The vigour, which hath been excited in the soul of every individual, manifests itself in his manners. The small number of citizens who have been witnesses and instruments of such troubles, possess more moral strength than the most populous nations. Justice and power are united: and every man is astonished to find that he

he occupies that very place which nature had marked out for him. But when civil wars proceed from a corrupt ſource; when ſlaves fight about the choice of a tyrant; when the ambitious contend in order to oppreſs, and robbers quarrel for the ſake of ſpoil; the peace which terminates theſe horrors is ſcarcely preferable to the war which gave them birth. Criminals aſſume the place of thoſe judges who diſgraced them, and become the oracles of thoſe laws which they have inſulted. Men ruined by their extravagancies and debaucheries inſult, with an overbearing pomp, thoſe virtuous citizens whoſe patrimony they have invaded. In this ſtate of utter confuſion, the paſſions only are attended to. Avarice ſeeks to grow rich without any trouble, vengeance to gratify its reſentments without fear, licentiouſneſs to throw off every reſtraint, and diſcontent to occaſion a total ſubverſion of affairs. The phrenzy of carnage is ſucceeded by that of debauchery. The ſacred bed of innocence or of marriage is polluted with blood, adultery, and brutal violence. The fury of the multitude rejoices in deſtroying every thing it cannot enjoy; and thus in a few hours periſh the monuments of many centuries.

If fatigue, an entire laſſitude, or ſome lucky accidents, ſuſpend theſe calamities, the habit of wickedneſs, murder, and contempt of laws, which neceſſarily ſubſiſts after ſo much confuſion, is a leaven ever ready to ferment. Generals who no longer have any command, licentious ſoldiers without pay, and the people fond of novelty in

hopes of changing their ſtate for a better; this ſituation of things, and theſe means of confuſion, are always in readineſs for the firſt factious perſon who knows how to avail himſelf of them.

Such was the diſpoſition of the Spaniards in Peru, when Nunez appeared among them. It was neceſſary that a change ſhould take place, that their ferocity ſhould be ſoftened, that the men who had always lived in independence ſhould be curbed, that inſatiable avarice ſhould be checked, that injuſtice itſelf ſhould be brought back to principles of equity, that thoſe who had attended to nothing but their own private intereſts ſhould be brought to concur to the public good, that adventurers who had even forgotten the name of their country ſhould be converted into citizens, that property ſhould be eſtabliſhed where before the law of force had only been obeyed, that order ſhould ariſe from the midſt of confuſion; in a word, that monſters ſhould be transformed into men.

So great a work would have required a profound genius, a conciliatory temper, an inflexible patience, extenſive views, a pliant character, and many other qualities which are ſeldom united. Nunez had none of theſe advantages. Nature had only given him probity, firmneſs, and ardour; and he had taken no pains to improve theſe gifts. With theſe virtues, which were almoſt defects in his ſituation, he began to fulfil his commiſſion, without regard to places, perſons, or circumſtances.

CONTRARY to the opinion of all intelligent persons, who wished that he should wait for fresh instructions from Europe, he published ordinances, which declared that the lands the conquerors had seized should not pass to their descendants, and which dispossessed those who had taken part in the civil commotions. All the Peruvians who had been enslaved by monks, bishops, and persons belonging to the government, were declared free. Those who belonged to other masters were to be freed from their shackles at the death of their oppressors. They could no longer be compelled to bury themselves in the mines, nor could any kind of labour be exacted from them without payment. Their tribute was fixed. The Spaniards who travelled on foot were deprived of the right of taking three Indians to carry their baggage; and those who travelled on horseback, of the right of taking five. The caciques were discharged from the obligation of furnishing the traveller and his retinue with provisions gratis. Other tyrannical establishments also would soon have been proscribed; and the conquered people were on the eve of being sheltered under the protection of laws, which would at least have tempered the rigours of the right of conquest, if even they had not entirely repaired the injustice of them; but it should seem that the Spanish government was only to be unfortunate in the good it attempted to effect.

A CHANGE so unexpected filled those with consternation who saw their fortunes wrested from them, or who lost the flattering hope of transmit-

ting theirs to their poſterity. Even thoſe who were not affected by theſe intereſted views, being accuſtomed to look upon the Indians as the inſtruments and victims of their avarice, had no conception that any other ideas could prevail concerning them. From aſtoniſhment they proceeded to indignation, murmuring, and ſedition. The viceroy was degraded, put in irons, and baniſhed to a deſert iſland, till he could be conveyed to Spain.

Gonzales Pizarro was then returned from a hazardous expedition, which had carried him as far as the river of the Amazons, and had employed him long enough to prevent him from taking a part in thoſe revolutions which had ſo rapidly ſucceeded each other. The anarchy he found prevaling at his return, inſpired him with the idea of ſeizing the ſupreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impoſſible that this ſhould be refuſed him; but his uſurpation was marked with ſo many enormities, that Nunez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and ſoon collected a ſufficient number of forces to enable him to take the field. Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury by both parties. No quarter was aſked or given on either ſide. The Indians took part in this, as they had done in the preceding wars; ſome ranged themſelves under the ſtandard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. From fifteen to twenty thouſand of theſe unhappy wretches, who were ſcattered about in each army, dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, carried the baggage, and

and deſtroyed one another. Their conquerors had taught them to be ſanguinary. After a variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito in the month of January, in the year 1545. Nunez and the greateſt part of his men were maſſacred on this dreadful day.

Pizarro took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they ſhould receive him. Some officers wiſhed that a canopy ſhould be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation ſtill more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even ſome houſes, muſt be pulled down; as was the cuſtom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himſelf with making his entrance on horſeback, preceded by his lieutenant, who marched on foot. Four biſhops accompanied him, and he was followed by the magiſtrates. The ſtreets were ſtrewn with flowers, and the air reſounded with the noiſe of bells and various muſical inſtruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He ſpoke and acted in the moſt deſpotic manner.

Had Gonzales poſſeſſed judgment and the appearance of moderation, it would have been poſſible for him to render himſelf independent. The principal perſons of his party wiſhed it. The majority would have beheld this event with indifference, and the reſt would have been obliged to

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conſent to it. Blind cruelties, inſatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered theſe diſpoſitions. Even thoſe, whoſe intereſts were more connected with thoſe of the tyrant, wiſhed for a deliverer.

Such a deliverer arrived from Europe in the perſon of the licentiate Pedro de la Gaſca. The ſquadron and the provinces of the mountains immediately declared for a perſon who was inveſted with a lawful authority to govern them. Thoſe who lived concealed in deſerts, caverns, and foreſts, quitted their retreats to join him. Gonzales, who ſaw no reſource left to ſupport him but in ſome great atchievement, took the road of Cuſco, with a reſolution to give battle. At ſome leagues diſtance from this place he met the royal army, and attacked it on the 9th of June, 1548. One of his lieutenants, ſeeing him abandoned at the firſt charge by his beſt ſoldiers, adviſed him to throw himſelf into the enemy's battalions, and periſh like a Roman: but this weak man choſe rather to ſurrender, and end his life on a ſcaffold. Carvajal, a more able warrior, and more ferocious than himſelf, was quartered. This madman, when he was expiring, boaſted that he had maſſacred with his own hand fourteen hundred Spaniards, and twenty thouſand Indians.

Such was the laſt ſcene of a tragedy, of which every act has been marked with blood. The government was moderate enough not to continue the proſcriptions; and the remembrance of the horrid calamities they had ſuffered kept the Spaniards in the bounds of ſubjection. What ſtill remained of that commotion that had been raiſed

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in their minds inſenſibly ſank into a calm, like the agitation of waves after a long and furious tempeſt.

With regard to the Peruvians, the moſt cruel meaſures were taken to render it impoſſible for them to rebel. Tupac Amaru, the heir of their laſt king, had taken refuge in ſome remote mountains, where he lived in peace. There he was ſo cloſely ſurrounded by the troops which had been ſent out againſt him, that he was forced to ſurrender. The viceroy Francis de Toledo cauſed him to be accuſed of ſeveral crimes that he had not committed, and for which he was beheaded in 1571. All the other deſcendants of the Incas ſhared the ſame fate, under pretence that they had conſpired againſt their conquerors. The horror of theſe enormities excited ſo univerſal an indignation both in the old and new world, that Philip II. thought himſelf obliged to diſavow them; but the infamous policy of this prince was ſo notorious, that no credit was given to this appearance of his juſtice and humanity.

From this execrable period, there hath only been one trifling inſurrection in Peru. An Indian, of the province of Xauxa, who declared himſelf of the blood of the Incas, was proclaimed king in 1742. His countrymen, who flattered themſelves that they ſhould ſoon recover their religion, their laws, their lands, and their glory, flocked in crowds to his ſtandard: but they were beaten and diſperſed, after having made a conſiderable progreſs. The priſoners declared that this conſpiracy had been brooding for thirty years. A ſingular

gular example in hiſtory, and which may be regarded as the moſt authentic proof of the hatred of the Peruvians againſt the Spaniards.

Natural ſtate of Peru.

THE empire of Peru, at the time it was ſubdued, extended along the South Sea, from the river of Emeralds to Chili, and on the land ſide to Popayan, according to ſome geographers. It contained within its extent that famous chain of mountains which riſes in the Terra Magellanica, and is gradually loſt in Mexico, in order to unite, as it ſhould ſeem, the ſouthern parts of America with the northern. Its territory, which is very irregular, may be divided into three claſſes.

THE principal Cordeleras form the firſt: the ſummits of theſe, ſays M. de la Condamine, are loſt in the clouds, and almoſt all of them are covered with enormous maſſes of ſnow as old as the world. From ſeveral of theſe ſummits, which have in part tumbled down, and from theſe immenſe heaps of ſnow, torrents of ſmoak and flame iſſue. Such are the ſummits of Colopaxi, Tongourargua, and Sangai. The greateſt part of the reſt have formerly been volcanos, or will probably one day become ſuch. Hiſtory has only preſerved to us the æra of their eruptions ſince the diſcovery of America; but the pumice-ſtones, the calcined earths with which they are ſtrewn, and the evident veſtiges that the flame hath left, are authentic teſtimonies of the reality of former eruptions: their height is prodigious.

CAYAMBOUR, which is ſituated directly under the equator, and Antiſona, which is only five leagues

leagues distant from it to the south, are more than three thousand toises high, reckoning from the level of the sea; and Chimboraco, which is near 3220 toises high, surpasses by one third the altitude of the Peak of Teneriffe, the highest mountain of the old hemisphere. Pitchincha and Caraçon, where the French Academicians made most of their observations with regard to the figure of the earth, have only 2430 and 2470 toises of absolute height; and this is the highest mountain that was ever ascended. Eternal snows have hitherto rendered summits of greater altitude inaccessible.

From this boundary, which is where the snow never melts, not even in the torrid zone, one hardly sees, in descending an hundred or an hundred and fifty toises down, any thing except naked rocks or dry sands: a little lower, one may perceive some moss that covers the rocks, various kinds of heath, which, though green and damp, make a clear fire; round hillocks of spungy earth, on which grow small radiated and starry plants, whose petals are like the leaves of yew. Throughout the whole of this space, the snow is only temporary; but it continues sometimes whole weeks and months. Lower still, the ground is commonly covered with a sort of loose grass, which rises a foot and a half high, or two feet. This species of hay is the proper characteristic that distinguishes the mountains which the Spaniards call *Paramos*. They only give this name to heath, or such uncultivated ground that is too high for wood to grow on it, or where the rain seldom falls

falls otherwiſe than in the form of ſnow, though it immediately melts. And, laſtly, in deſcending ſtill lower, to the height of about two thouſand toiſes above the level of the ſea, one ſees it ſometimes ſnow and ſometimes rain.

When we come down from theſe mountains, we find others that are leſs conſiderable, which occupy the middle of Peru. The ſummit of theſe is commonly cold, barren, and full of mines. The vallies between them are covered with numerous flocks, and ſeem to offer to agriculture the moſt copious harveſts. There are ſeldom above two months of winter here; and in the greateſt heat we need only paſs out of the ſun into the ſhade, to enjoy the temperate zone. This rapid alternative of ſenſation is not, however, invariable in a climate, which, by the diſpoſition alone of the ground, often changes in the courſe of a league. But let it be as it will, it is always found healthy. There is no malady peculiar to theſe countries, and thoſe of our climate ſeldom prevail there. An European veſſel, however, in 1719, brought thither an epidemic diſorder, which carried off a great number of Spaniards and Meſtees, and above two hundred thouſand Indians. A more fatal preſent ſtill, which theſe people have received in exchange for their gold, is the ſmall-pox. It ſhewed itſelf here for the firſt time in 1588, and has not failed ſince to make at intervals inexpreſſible ravages.

The people are not leſs expoſed to this fatal diſtemper on the coaſts known by the name of valleys. Their temperature is not the ſame as

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is elſewhere found in the ſame latitude. It is very agreeable; and, though the four ſeaſons of the year are ſenſibly felt here, there is none that can with propriety be deemed inconvenient. The winter is the moſt ſtrongly marked. This has been accounted for by the winds of the ſouth pole, which bring along with them the impreſſion of thoſe ſnows and that ice from which they firſt came: but this they preſerve only in part, becauſe they blow while a thick fog lies upon the earth. In reality, theſe groſs vapours never regularly riſe but towards noon; but it is ſeldom that they diſperſe. The ſky commonly continues ſo much covered with them, that the rays of the ſun, which ſometimes appear, cannot but in a very ſlight manner mitigate the cold.

WHATEVER may be the cauſe of ſo regular a winter under the torrid zone, it is certain that theſe valleys, which are covered with heaps of ſand, are abſolutely barren for a ſpace of more than an hundred leagues, from Truxillo to Lima. The reſt of the coaſt is leſs ſandy, but it is ſtill too much ſo to be fruitful. No fields are there found that can be ſtyled fertile, except in ſuch lands as are watered by the ſtreams which deſcend from the mountains.

RAIN might contribute to impart to the ſoil the fertility of which it is deſtitute; but it is never known to rain in lower Peru. Natural philoſophy has exerted its efforts to diſcover the cauſe of a phænomenon ſo extraordinary. May it not be attributed to the ſouth-weſt wind, which prevails there the greateſt part of the year; and to the prodigious

digious height of the mountains, whose summit is covered with eternal ice? The country situated between both, being continually cooled on one side, and continually heated on the other, maintains so equal a temperature, that the clouds which rise can never be condensed so far as to be resolved into water. To this it is owing that the houses, though only built of crude brick or of earth mixed with a little grass, are of eternal duration. Their covering is only a simple matting, placed horizontally, with a layer of ashes an inch deep above, to absorb the moisture of the fog.

The same reasons that prevent its raining in the valleys, undoubtedly also hinder storms. Those of their inhabitants who never travelled in the mountains, are perfect strangers to thunder and lightning. Their terror is equal to their astonishment, when, out of their country, they first behold so uncommon a spectacle.

But they have a phænomenon much more dangerous and dreadful, and which, in its consequences, leaves much deeper impressions in the human imagination than thunder and the ravages that accompany it. Earthquakes, which in other countries are so rare that whole generations pass without beholding one, are so common in the valleys of Peru, that they have there contracted an habit of reckoning them as a series of dates; and they are so much the more memorable, as their frequent return does not diminish their violence. There are few places on this extensive coast which present not most dreadful monuments of these horrible convulsions of the earth.

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This phænomenon, which is ever irregular in its ſudden returns, is however announced by very perceptible omens. When the ſhock is conſiderable, it is preceded by a murmur in the air, the noiſe of which is like that of heavy rain falling from a cloud that ſuddenly burſts and diſcharges its waters. This noiſe ſeems to be the effect of a vibration of the air, which is agitated in different directions. The birds are then obſerved to dart in their flight. Neither their tails nor their wings ſerve them any longer as oars and helm to ſwim in the fluid of the ſkies. They daſh themſelves in pieces againſt the walls, the trees, and the rocks, whether it be that this vertigo of nature dazzles and confuſes them, or that the vapours of the earth take away their ſtrength and power to command their movements.

To this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, whoſe cavities and deep receſſes re-echo each other's noiſes. The dogs anſwer theſe previous tokens of a general diſorder of nature by howling in an extraordinary manner. The animals ſtop, and by a natural inſtinct ſpread out their legs that they may not fall. Upon theſe indications, the inhabitants inſtantly run out of their houſes, with terror impreſſed on their countenances, and fly to ſearch in the encloſures of public places, or in the fields, an aſylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the ſudden darkneſs of an unexpected night; every thing combines to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity, which ſubverts every thing, by the excruciating tortures of the imagination, which is

diſtreſſed and confounded, and loſes in the contemplation of this diſorder the thought and courage to remedy it.

A LAND, however, ſo unſteady on its baſis, was inhabited. Amidſt theſe horrors of nature, which might ſeem calculated to make tyrants and ſlaves equally ferocious and brutal, was formed a flouriſhing empire. Its population cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion, when we behold ſelf-evident proofs that this happy people had covered with their colonies all the provinces that they had conquered; when we attend to the aſtoniſhing number of men engaged in the ſervice of government, and deriving their ſubſiſtence from the ſtate. Such a number of perſons employed neceſſarily imply an immenſe population, in order to maintain with the productions of the earth a very numerous claſs of inhabitants, who are not themſelves concerned in cultivation.

BY what fatality, then, hath it happened that Peru is now ſuch a deſert? By tracing things to their origin, we find that thoſe who conquered the coaſt of the South Sea, being ruffians, without birth, education, and principle, originally committed greater enormities than the conquerors of New Spain. The mother country was a longer time before ſhe checked their ferocity, which was continually fomented by thoſe long and cruel civil wars that ſucceeded the conqueſt. A ſyſtem of oppreſſion was afterwards eſtabliſhed, the progreſs of which it is proper to examine, with whatever horror it may inſpire us.

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To what condition the Spaniards have reduced the Peruvians.

THE Peruvians were at firſt deprived of their poſſeſſions, as the Mexicans had been. Only a part of thoſe lands, which, in the times of the Incas, had been conſecrated to public occaſions, was left to them in common. This portion hath been gradually diminiſhed by the uſurpations of powerful people, and eſpecially by the monks. The produce of the lands that remain for the maintenance of the infirm, the aged, the widows, and orphans, is not more reſpected; the greateſt part of it is collected in the granaries of their oppreſſors.

THE liberty of the Indians underwent the ſame fate as their property. Thoſe who were the ſlaves of government, and were employed in the labours indiſpenſably neceſſary for new eſtabliſhments, were ill-fed and ill-cloathed. When there was no longer any occupation for them, they were transferred to private perſons, whoſe fiefs ſtood in need of hands to cultivate them. In truth, theſe new maſters were obliged to retain them in their ſervice only ſix months, after which they might return to their cottages; but avarice ſoon found means to render a tranſient ſervitude perpetual. The wages regulated for theſe unhappy wretches were inſufficient. They were tempted by advance-money, which their neceſſity led them to accept. From that time the greateſt part of them found themſelves engaged for life; becauſe they had no right of going away till they had paid the debts which they contracted, which their poverty rendered it impoſſible for them ever to do. Tyranny was carried to great lengths againſt this ſpecies of inſolvent debtors, who had

a family; for they put them in priſon. In order to obtain their enlargement, their wives and their children were ſecurity for them, and theſe became as many new ſlaves. Thus it was that the yoke of ſlavery was perpetuated. The ſole conſideration that could have ſerved as a check to this barbarity was, that, while the Spaniards had theſe Indians, they could not have other ſlaves; but it was always of ſingular utility, to keep men whom they had formed for every purpoſe they wanted them; eſpecially manufacturers, whom it would always be difficult, often impoſſible, to replace.

WHILE moſt of the Peruvians belonging to the crown fell in this manner into a ſtate of ſervitude, thoſe who had been reduced into ſubjection at the time of the conqueſt were ſtill more wretched. Though the maſter of the diſtrict where they dwelt had no right to exact of them any thing except a tribute, which he ſhared with the treaſury, he appropriated to himſelf all their labour. Oppreſſion was carried to ſuch lengths, that it rouzed the attention of the government. It hath gradually ſuppreſſed all this deſpotiſm of individuals, and there was nothing of it remaining in 1750. The Indians, however, who ſeemed to be reſtored to liberty by this new arrangement, have only changed the yoke. They have been deſtined to fill up the vacancy of the *Mitayos*, or royal Indians, who periſhed in the ſervice of thoſe to whom they were conſigned; and their condition is as wretched as it was before.

INDEPENDENT of this methodical and legal oppreſſion, which is exerciſed upon the whole nation, there

there are a number of particular cruelties, at which humanity no less recoils. It is expressly prohibited by law, that the Peruvians should be obliged to work in the subterraneous mines; and yet there is no miner, who by his influence or by his profusion cannot compel them to it. These unhappy beings are condemned to pay 26 livres 5 sous * of a poll tax, from eighteen years of age to fifty, throughout the greatest part of Peru: the farmers exact this enormous tribute beyond the term settled, and even exact it twice a year, when the acquittances have been mislayed. Every proprietor of land, who hath killed an Indian by overworking him, or letting him want necessaries, is obliged to lose another slave out of the number he is allowed to keep; and there are not, perhaps, two instances even of this slight punishment for a crime which is repeated every day. The law obliges all the inhabitants of a village to be enrolled, in order to fulfill in their turn the obligation imposed on the community; this destination is never fulfilled, unless by those who are incapable of redeeming themselves from the oppression. When a Spaniard hath ceded a portion of land to a Peruvian, in order to fix him on his estate, he has no right to deprive him of it till the clauses of the contract have been declared by law to be violated: the persons in power despise these forms, and resume their possessions whenever their interests or caprices prompt them to it. Travellers, who are obliged to take nothing but by mutual consent, boldly seize every

* About 1 l. 3 s.

thing that they find in the huts. This continual pillage prevents the Indians from having any thing, even common neceſſaries. They ſow no maize, but what is abſolutely neceſſary for them, and they conceal it in ſecret caverns. The heads of a family poſſeſs alone the ſecret of this depoſit, and go every eight days there to fetch proviſions for the week. In fine, the corregidors have for the moſt part appropriated to themſelves the excluſive right of ſelling to the Indians of their diſtrict the merchandiſe of Europe; and they either make them pay an exorbitant price for it, or oblige them to purchaſe what they do not want.

If the court of Madrid pretends that it has prevented theſe flagrant enormities, by giving the Peruvians a Spaniſh protector, who is obliged to defend them, and a cacique of the country, who is charged with the management of their affairs, it is deceived. The protector annually receives from each of them 13 ſous *, and the cacique ſix ſous and a half †, in his particular juriſdiction; and this is the only reformation that has been made. The protector ſells the Indians to any that will purchaſe them; and the cacique is too much debaſed to be able to oppoſe this oppreſſion.

Religion has not more power than the laws; it has ſtill leſs. The clergy are the greateſt enemies the Peruvians have. They make them work without paying them; and beat them unmercifully for the moſt trifling cauſes. When any of theſe unhappy wretches hath not obſerved his inſtruc-

* About 7 pence. † About 3 pence halfpenny.

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tions, he is directly punished; and blows are the paternal correction which these pastors inflict. No one presumes to approach them without some present. They have permitted their parishioners to continue such of their ancient superstitions as are useful to the church; as for instance, the custom of carrying a great deal of provisions to the tombs of the dead. The clergy fix an arbitary price upon their functions, and they have always some pious inventions which give them occasion to exact new duties. The collections of the monks are real military executions. They are a species of plunder committed by authority, and almost always accompanied with violence. This conduct could not fail to render christianity odious to the Indians. These people go to church as they do to the labours imposed upon them, execrating those foreign barbarians who overwhelm both their bodies and their souls with intolerable yokes and burdens.

They have in general preserved the religion of their ancestors; and even in the great towns, where they are under the eyes of their tyrants, they have solemn days on which they assume their antient dress, and carry along the streets the images of the sun and moon. Some among them represent a tragedy, the subject of which is the death of Atabalipa. The audience, who begin with shedding tears, are afterwards transported into a kind of madness. It seldom happens in these festivals, but that some Spaniard is slain. One day, perhaps, this tragedy will end in the massacre of the whole race of the murderers of Atabalipa; and the priests who sacrificed him will, in their

turn, become victims for all the blood which they caused to be shed on the altar of a God of peace.

The Peruvians are moreover an instance of that profound stupidity, into which it is in the power of tyranny to plunge men. They are fallen into a listless and universal indifference. Can it be possible that these people should have any kind of attachment, whose religion once elevated the soul, and from whom the most abject slavery has taken away every sentiment of greatness and glory? The riches, which their country hath offered them, do not tempt them; luxury, to which nature invites them, has no attraction for them. They are even insensible to honours. They are whatever one pleases, without any ill humour, or choice, caciques or *mitayos*, the objects of distinction or of public derision. They have lost all their passions. That of fear itself has often no effect on them, through the little attachment they have to life. They intoxicate themselves, and dance; these are all the pleasures they have, when they are able to forget their misery. Indolence is their predominant habit. *I am not hungry*, they say to the person who would pay them for their labour.

Such is the condition of almost all nations that have no property. In hot countries, where one may live at a small expence, where the earth gives much, and requires little, every man, who can but subsist without ever being in possession of any property, passes his life in ease and beggary; and neither labours for the morrow, nor for posterity. The universal fault of bad governments, and they

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are almoſt all ſo, is in the legiſlative code with regard to the article of property. It ſhould either be ſaid that none ought to be admitted, or the moſt exact equilibrium that is poſſible ought to be maintained in this ſocial balance. But of all legiſlations, the moſt deſtructive, and the leaſt permanent, is that of a nation compoſed of rich and indolent proprietors, and ſlaves that are poor and overburdened. It ſoon becomes only one general ſyſtem of idleneſs, cruelties, gibbets, and tortures, on one ſide; hatred, poiſon, and inſurrection, on the other; the ruin and deſtruction of both; the perdition and diſſolution of ſociety.

The empire of Peru was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of depopulation as rendered it neceſſary that it ſhould be ſupplied by the purchaſe of a foreign race; but this mode of raiſing ſupplies, which was dictated by the refinement of European barbarity, was more prejudicial to Africa than uſeful to the country of the Incas. The Spaniards do not derive from it all the advantages with which they had flattered themſelves. The government hath thought proper to throw obſtacles in its way, by monopolies and taxes, which it ever impoſes on vices as well as on virtues, on induſtry and idleneſs, on good and bad projects, on the right of exerciſing oppreſſions, and the permiſſion of being exempted from them; on the power of putting the laws in execution, and the privilege of infringing or eluding them. Independent of theſe exceſſive duties laid on the introduction of negroes into Peru, it was neceſſary to receive them from an excluſive charter, and from foreign hands to import

port them acroſs immenſe ſeas and unwholeſome climates, and to undergo the expence of ſeveral embarkations. Neceſſity, ſtronger than theſe obſtacles, has however multiplied this ſpecies of men more at Peru than at Mexico. There is alſo a much greater number of Spaniards there, for the following reaſons.

To what degree the Spaniards have multiplied in Peru. Where, and how, they have formed their ſettlements. What ſpecies of cultivation, and what induſtry, they have introduced into the empire.

At the time when the firſt conqueſts were made, when emigrations were moſt frequent, the country of the Incas had a much greater reputation for riches than New Spain; and, in reality, for a long time much more conſiderable treaſures were brought away from it. The deſire of partaking of them muſt neceſſarily draw thither, as was really the caſe, a greater number of Caſtilians. Though they all almoſt went over there with the hope of returning to their country to enjoy the fortune they might acquire, yet the majority of them ſettled in the colony. They were induced to this by the ſoftneſs of the climate, the ſalubrity of the air, and the goodneſs of the proviſions. Mexico preſented not the ſame advantages, and did not give them reaſon to expect ſo much independence as a land infinitely more remote from the mother-country.

Cusco attracted the conquerors in multitudes. They found this capital built on a ground that was very irregular, and divided into as many quarters as there were provinces in the empire. Each of the inhabitants might follow the uſages of his native country; but every body was obliged to conform to the worſhip eſtabliſhed by the founder of the monarchy. There was no edifice that had any

any grandeur, elegance, or convenience; because the people were ignorant of the first elements of architecture. The magnificence of what they called the palace of the sovereign, of the princes of the blood, and of the great men of his empire, consisted in the profusion of the metals that were lavished in decorating them. The temple of the sun was distinguished above all other edifices; its walls were incrusted or sheathed with gold and silver, ornamented with divers figures, and loaded with the idols of all the nations whom the Incas had enlightened and subdued.

PROFLIGATE and idle monks have prostituted these rich metals to other superstitions; substituted to the useful prejudices of the climate others of a more destructive kind; and expelled the natural errors suited to the turn of the inhabitants by foreign tenets, highly absurd in themselves, as well as repugnant to the human mind and to every social tie. The same fatality which subverts the universe, the ocean, the land, empires and nations; which alternately diffuses on the globe the enlightening spirit of the arts, and the darkness of ignorance; which transplants men and opinions, as the winds and currents drive fish and sea-weeds on the shore: this same destiny has decreed that a set of proud monks, enervated at once by indolence and voluptuousness, should insolently indulge themselves in ease upon the ashes of the virtuous Incas, in the centre of an empire formerly so blessed under these legislators. This deplorable revolution does not hinder the Peru-

Peruvians, who, in general, have the greateſt averſion for living in cities, becauſe inhabited by Spaniards, from voluntarily chuſing to reſide at Cuſco. They ſtill love to behold that venerable place, from which thoſe holy laws originated that rendered their anceſtors ſo happy. The remembrance of this inſpires them with an elevation of ſoul; and they are found to be leſs ſtupid on this celebrated ſpot, than in other parts of their empire.

On a hill north of the capital was a citadel, which the Incas had built with much care, time, labour, and expence. The Spaniards long ſpoke of this monument of Peruvian induſtry with a ſpirit of admiration that impoſed upon all Europe. We have ſeen the ruins of this fortreſs, and the marvellous has diſappeared: nothing has remained but the aſtoniſhment, which muſt neceſſarily be occaſioned by the ſight of the enormous maſſes of ſtone, which have been brought from a conſiderable diſtance, without the aſſiſtance of levers and other machines that are known to more enlightened nations.

Four leagues from this fortreſs we meet with a delicious valley, where the Incas and the great men of the empire had their country-houſes. This enchanting retreat ſo well preſerves its reputation, that the richeſt inhabitants of Cuſco believe there is ſomething deficient in their ſyſtem of happineſs when they cannot purchaſe a piece of ground there. The ſick ordinarily repair thither in ſearch of health, and it rarely happens but they find it.

As it was not a ſolicitude for their own preſervation which occupied the Spaniards at firſt, they had no ſooner pillaged the immenſe riches which had been amaſſed at Cuſco for four centuries, than they went in great numbers in 1534, under the order of Sebaſtian de Benalcazar, to undertake the deſtruction of Quito. The other towns and boroughs of the empire were overrun with the ſame ſpirit of rapine; and the citizens and the temples were plundered in all parts.

Those of the conquerors, who did not take up their reſidence in the ſettlements which they found already formed, built towns on the ſea-coaſts, where before there were none; for the ſterility of the ſoil had not permitted the Peruvians to multiply much there; and they had not been induced to remove thither from the extremity of their country, becauſe they ſailed very little. Paita, Truxillo, Callao, Piſca, and Arica, were the roads which the Spaniards deemed moſt convenient for the communication they intended to eſtabliſh among themſelves and with the mother-country. The different poſitions of theſe new cities determined the degree of their proſperity.

Those which were afterwards built in the inland parts of the country were not erected in regions which preſented a fertile ſoil, copious harveſts, excellent paſtures, a mild and ſalubrious climate, and all the conveniences of life. Theſe places, which had hitherto been ſo well cultivated by a numerous and flouriſhing people, were now totally diſregarded. Very ſoon they exhibited only a de-

a deplorable picture of a horrid desert; and this wildness must have been more melancholy and hideous than the dreary aspect of the earth before the origin of societies. The traveller, who was led by accident or curiosity into these desolate plains, could not forbear abhorring the barbarous and bloody authors of these devastations, while he reflected that it was not owing even to the cruel illusions of glory and to the fanaticism of conquest, but to the stupid and abject desire of gold, that they had sacrificed so much more real treasure, and so numerous a population.

This insatiable thirst of gold, which neither attended to subsistence, safety, nor policy, was the only motive for establishing new settlements, some of which have been kept up, while several have decayed, and others have been formed in their stead. The fate of them all has corresponded with the discovery, progress, or declension of the mines to which they were subordinate.

Fewer errors have been committed in the means of procuring provisions. The natives had hitherto lived hardly on any thing else but maize, fruits, and pulse, for which they had used no other seasoning except salt and pimento. Their liquors, which were made from different roots, were more diversified; of these the *chica* was the most usual; which is made from maize soaked in water, and taken out of the vessel when it begins to sprout. It is dried in the sun, then parched a little, and at last ground. The flour,

after

after it has been well kneaded, is put with water into large pitchers. The fermentation may be expected in two or three days, and muſt not continue longer. The great inconvenience of this drink, which, when uſed immoderately, infallibly intoxicates, is, that it will not keep more than eight days without turning ſour. Its taſte is nearly that of the moſt indifferent kind of cyder. It is a refreſhing, nouriſhing, and aperitive liquor. The Indians, who are never troubled with ſuppreſſions of urine, are ſaid to owe that advantage to the uſe of this drink.

THE conquerors were not ſatisfied either with the liquors or with the food of the people they had ſubdued. They imported vines from the old world, which ſoon multiplied ſufficiently in the ſands of the coaſts at Ica, Piſca, Naſca, Moquequa, and Truxillo, to furniſh the colony with the wine and brandy it wanted. Olives ſucceeded ſtill better, and yielded a great abundance of oil, which was much ſuperior to that of the mother-country. Other fruits were tranſplanted with the ſame ſucceſs. Sugar ſucceeds ſo well that none of any other growth can be compared to that which is cultivated in theſe parts, where it never rains. In the inland country wheat and barley were ſown; and at length all the European quadrupeds were ſoon found grazing at the foot of the mountains.

THIS was a conſiderable ſtep; but there ſtill remained much more to be done. After they had provided for a better and a greater choice of ſubſiſtence, the next care of the Spaniards was to have a dreſs more commodious and more agreeable than

than that of the Peruvians. Theſe were, however, better cloathed than any other American nation. They owed this ſuperiority to the advantage which they alone poſſeſſed, of having the lama and the pacos, domeſtic animals which ſerved them for this uſe.

The lama is an animal four feet high, and five or ſix in length; of which its neck alone takes up one half. Its head is well made, with large eyes, a long ſnout, and thick lips. Its mouth has no inciſors in the upper jaw. Its feet are cloven like thoſe of the ox, but furniſhed with a ſpur behind, which enables it to faſten itſelf on the ſides of ſteep places, where it delights to climb. Its wool, which is ſhort on its back, but grows long on its ſides and under the belly, conſtitutes part of its uſefulneſs. Though very ſalacious, theſe animals copulate with great difficulty. In vain the female proſtrates herſelf to receive the male, and invites him by her ſighs; they are ſometimes a whole day groaning, grumbling, and ineffectually attempting enjoyment, if men do not help them to fulfill the deſire of nature. Thus ſeveral of our domeſtic animals, that are chained, broken, forced, and reſtrained in all their freeſt motions and ſenſations, loſe, through ineffectual efforts, the principles of generation while they are confined in ſtables, if care and attention does not ſupply the place of that liberty of which they have been deprived. The females of the lama have only two dugs, never more than two young, commonly but one, which follows the dam immediately after its birth; it is of a very quick growth, and its life of ſhort

duration. At three years old it propagates its ſpecies, preſerves its vigour till twelve, then decays till it reaches fifteen, being worn out by labour.

THE lamas are employed as mules, in carrying on their backs loads of about an hundred weight. They move with a ſlow but firm pace at the rate of four or five leagues a day, in countries that are impracticable to other animals; deſcending through gullies, and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they reſt of their own accord for twenty-four hours.

NATURE has formed them for the people of that climate where they are produced, mild and phlegmatic, moderate and prudent, like the Americans. When they ſtop, they bend their knees and ſtoop their body in ſuch a manner as not to diſcompoſe their burthen. As ſoon as they hear their driver whiſtle, they riſe with the ſame care, and proceed on their journey. They browſe on the graſs they find in their way, and chew the cud at night, even when aſleep, reclining on their breaſt, with their feet doubled under their belly. They are neither diſpirited by faſting nor drudgery, while they have any ſtrength remaining; but, when they are totally exhauſted or fall under their burden, it is to no purpoſe to harraſs and beat them: they will continue obſtinately ſtriking their heads againſt the ground, firſt on one ſide, then on the other, till they kill themſelves. They never defend themſelves either with their feet or teeth; and in the height of their indignation content

themſelves with only ſpitting in the face of thoſe who inſult them.

THE pacos is to the lama what the aſs is to the horſe, a ſubordinate ſpecies, ſmaller in ſize, with ſhorter legs, and a flat ſnout; but of the ſame diſpoſition, the ſame manners, and the ſame conſtitution, as the lama; made, like the lama, to carry burthens, but more obſtinate in its caprices, perhaps, becauſe it is weaker.

THESE animals are ſo much the more uſeful to man, as their ſervice coſts him nothing. Their thick fur ſupplies the place of a pack-ſaddle. The little graſs, which they find along the road, ſuffices for their food, and furniſhes them with a plentiful and freſh ſaliva, which exempts them from the neceſſity of drinking.

AMONG the lamas, there are ſome of a wild ſpecies called guanacos, which are ſtronger, more ſprightly, and more nimble, than the domeſtic lamas; running like the ſtag, and climbing like the wild goat, covered with ſhort wool, and of a fawn colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds to the number ſometimes of two or three hundred. If they ſee a man, they ſurvey him at firſt with an air of greater aſtoniſhment than curioſity; then ſnuffing up the air and neighing, they run all together to the ſummit of the mountains. Theſe animals ſeek the north, travel on the ice, and ſojourn within the regions of ſnow, dreading the heat of the low lands; they are vigorous, and appear in vaſt numbers on the Sierras, which are of the ſame height as the Cordeleras; ſmall in ſize, and difficult to be found in the heaths,

heaths, which are at the bottom of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither hunters nor dogs can ever catch them.

THE vicunas, a ſpecies of wild pacos, are ſtill fonder of the ſummits of mountains, the ſnow, and the ice. Their wool is longer, thicker ſet, and much finer, than that of the guanacos. Its colour reſembles that of dried roſes, and ſo fixed by nature, that it cannot be altered in the hands of thoſe who are employed in working it. The vicunas are ſo timid, that their fear itſelf makes them an eaſy prey to the hunter. Men ſurround them and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which they have ſuſpended pieces of cloth or linen on cords, that are raiſed three or four feet from the ground. Theſe rags, being agitated by the wind, ſtrike ſuch terror into them, that they ſtand crouded and ſqueezed one againſt another, ſuffering themſelves to be killed rather than fly. But if there happens to be, among the vicunas, a guanaco, which, being more adventurous, leaps over the cords, they follow it and eſcape.

ALL theſe animals belong ſo peculiarly to South America, and eſpecially to the higheſt Cordeleras, that they are never ſeen on the ſide of Mexico, where the height of theſe mountains is conſiderably diminiſhed. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but they have all died. The Spaniards, without reflecting that theſe animals even in Peru itſelf ſought the coldeſt parts, tranſported them to the burning plains of Andaluſia. They might, poſſibly, have ſucceeded at

the foot of the Alps or the Pyrenees. This conjecture of M. de Buffon, to whom we are indebted for so many useful and profound observations on animals, is worthy the attention of statesmen, whose steps ought always to be guided by the lights of philosophy.

The flesh of the lamas, when they are young, is good eating. The skin of the old ones serves the Indians for shoes, and the Spaniards for harness. The guanacos may also be eaten. But the vicunas are only sought after for their fleece, and for the bezoar that they produce.

In general, the wool of the lamas, pacos, guanacos, and vicunas, was usefully employed by the Peruvians before the conquest. The inhabitants of Cusco made tapestry of it for the use of the court, in which flowers, birds, and trees, were pretty well imitated. It served also to make mantles, which were worn over a shirt of cotton. It is customary to tuck them up, in order to have the arms free. The principal people fastened them with gold and silver clasps; their wives with pins made of these metals, ornamented with emeralds; and the common people with thorns. In hot countries, the mantles of persons of distinction were made of fine cotton, and dyed with various colours. The common people, in the same climate, had no cloathing at all, except a girdle that was composed of the filaments of the bark of a tree, and served to cover those parts nature intended should be concealed.

After the conquest, all the Indians were obliged to wear cloaths. As the oppression, under which

which they groaned, did not allow them to exercise their former industry, they contented themselves with the coarser cloths of Europe, for which they were made to pay an exorbitant price. When the gold and silver which had escaped the rapacity of the conquerors were exhausted, they thought of re-establishing their national manufactures. These were some time after prohibited, on account of the deficiency which they occasioned in the exports of the mother-country. The impossibility, which the Peruvians found of purchasing foreign stuffs and paying their taxes, occasioned permission to be given at the end of ten years for their re-establishment. They have not been discontinued since that time, and have been brought to as great a degree of perfection as it was possible they could be under a continual tyranny.

With the wool of the vicuna they make, at Cusco and in its territory, stockings, handkerchiefs, and scarfs. These manufactures would have been multipled, if the spirit of destruction had not fallen on animals as well as on men. The same wool, mixed with that of the sheep imported thither from Europe, which hath exceedingly degenerated, serves for carpets, and makes also tolerably fine cloth. Fleeces of inferior quality are employed in serges, druggets, and in all kinds of coarse stuffs.

The manufactures subservient to luxury are established at Arequipa, Cusco, and Lima. In these three towns is made a prodigious number of gold toys and plate, for the use of private persons, and also for the churches. All these manufactures

are but coarſely wrought, and mixed with a great deal of copper. We ſeldom diſcover more taſte in their gold and ſilver laces and embroideries which their manufactures alſo produce. This is not altogether the caſe in regard to their lace, which, when mixed with that of Europe, looks very beautiful. This laſt manufacture is commonly in the hands of the nuns, who employ in it the Peruvian girls, and the young Meſtees of the towns, who for the moſt part before marriage paſs ſome years in the convent.

Other hands are employed in painting and gilding leather for rooms, in making with wood and ivory pieces of inlaid work and ſculpture, and in drawing figures on the marble that is found at Cucuca, or on linen imported from Europe. Theſe different works, which are almoſt all manufactured at Cuſco, ſerve for ornaments for houſes, palaces, and temples: the drawing of them is not bad, but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. If the Indians, who invent nothing, but are excellent imitators, had able maſters, and excellent models, they would at leaſt make good copyiſts. At the cloſe of the laſt century, ſome works of a Peruvian painter, named Michael de St. Jaques, were brought to Rome; and the connoiſſeurs diſcovered marks of genius in them.

These particulars will intereſt ſuch of our readers, whom we ſhall have inſpired with affection for one of the beſt nations that ever exiſted, and with eſteem for one of the moſt excellent inſtitutions that ever did honour to mankind. Thoſe, who are ſtrangers to that univerſal benevolence

lence which extends to all nations and all ages, will have experienced other ſentiments. Accuſtomed to behold nothing in Peru but the produce of its mines, they muſt conſequently regard with contempt every thing that has not a direct relation with their avarice. This would diminiſh, perhaps be totally corrected, if they were but diſpoſed frequently to revolve by what barbarity and enormities it has been gratified.

Of the mines of Peru.

THOUGH the Peruvians were unacquainted with coin, they knew the uſe of gold and ſilver; for they employed them in different kinds of ornaments. Independent of what the torrents and accident procured them of theſe metals, ſome mines had been opened of little depth. The Spaniards have not tranſmitted to us the manner in which theſe rich productions were drawn from the boſom of the earth. Their pride, which has deprived us of ſo much uſeful knowledge, undoubtedly made them think, that, in the inventions of a people whom they called barbarous, there was nothing that was worthy to be recorded.

THE difference as to the manner in which the Peruvians worked their mines did not extend to the mines themſelves. The conquerors opened them on all ſides. At firſt the gold mines tempted the avarice of the greater number. Fatal experience diſcouraged thoſe whom paſſion had not blinded. They clearly ſaw, that, for ſome enormous fortunes raiſed in this manner, great numbers, who had only moderate fortunes, were totally ruined. Theſe mines ſank into ſuch diſcredit, that, in order to prevent them from being aban-

doned, the government was obliged to take the twentieth part of their produce, inſtead of the fifth which it at firſt received.

THE mines of ſilver were more common, more equal, and richer. They even produced ſilver of a ſingular ſpecies, rarely found elſewhere. Towards the ſea-coaſt, great lumps of this metal are found in the ſands. Subterraneous fires, volcanos, and the revolutions which America hath experienced and ſtill continues to ſuffer, ſeem to indicate the cauſes of the tranſpoſition of thoſe metallic maſſes that are met with in ſeveral parts of this continent.

THERE are a great number of other mines, which are infinitely more important, and are found in the rocks and on the mountains. Several of them gave falſe hopes. Such in particular was that of Ucuntaya, diſcovered 1713. This was only an incruſtation of almoſt maſſive ſilver, which at firſt yielded ſeveral millions, but was ſoon exhauſted.

OTHERS, which were deeper, have been alike deſerted. Their produce, though equal to what it was originally, was not ſufficient to ſupport the expence of working them, which augmented every day. The mines of Quito, Cuſco, and Arequipa, have experienced that revolution which awaits many of the reſt.

THERE are great numbers of very rich mines which the waters have invaded. The declivity of the ſoil, which from the ſummit of the Cordeleras runs continually ſhelving to the South Sea, muſt neceſſarily render theſe events more common at Peru

Peru than in other places. This inconvenience, which with greater care and ſkill might often have been prevented or diminiſhed, has been in ſome inſtances remedied. A ſingle inſtance will be ſufficient to ſhew that the avarice of mankind can ſtruggle againſt that of nature, when ſhe conceals or withdraws from us her treaſures.

Joseph Salcedo, about the year 1660, had diſcovered, not far from the town of Puna, the mine of Laycacota. It was ſo rich, that the ſilver was often cut with a chiſſel. Proſperity, which debaſes little minds, had ſo elevated that of the proprietor of ſo much opulence, that he permitted all the Spaniards, who came to ſeek their fortune in this part of the new world, to work ſome days on their own account, without weighing or taking any account of the preſents he made them. This generoſity attracted an infinite number of people about him, whoſe avidity made them quarrel with each other; the love of money made them take up arms, and fall upon one another; and their benefactor, who had neglected no expedient to prevent and extinguiſh their ſanguinary contentions, was hanged as being the author of them. While he was in priſon, the water got poſſeſſion of his mine. Superſtition ſoon made it imagined that this was a puniſhment for the infamous manner in which they had acted towards him. This idea of divine vengeance was revered for a long time; but at laſt, in 1740, Diego de Bacna aſſociated with other opulent people, to avert the ſprings which had deluged ſo much treaſure. The labours, which this difficult undertaking required,

were

were not finiſhed till 1754. The mine yields as much now as it did at firſt. But mines ſtill richer than this have been diſcovered, which have experienced no revolution. Such, for example, is that of Potoſi, which was found in the ſame country where the Incas worked that of Porco.

An Indian, named Hualpa, in 1545, purſuing ſome deer, in order to climb certain ſteep rocks, laid hold of a buſh, the roots of which looſened from the earth, and brought to view an ingot of ſilver. The Indian had recourſe to it for his own uſe, and never failed to return to his treaſure every time that his wants or his deſires ſollicited him to it. The change that had happened in his fortune was remarked by his countryman Guanca, to whom he avowed the ſecret. The two friends could not keep their counſel and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; on which the indiſcreet confident diſcovered the whole to his maſter Villaroell, a Spaniard that was ſettled in the neighbourhood. Upon this the mine became known and was worked; and a great number of mines were found in its vicinity; the principal of which are in the northern part of the mountain, and their direction is from north to ſouth. The moſt intelligent people of Peru have obſerved, that this is in general the direction of the richeſt mines.

The fame of what was paſſing at Potoſi ſoon ſpread abroad, and there was ſoon built at the foot of the mountain a town, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand Indians, and ten thouſand Spaniards. The ſterility of the ſoil did not prevent its being immediately peopled. Corn, fruits, flocks, American

ſtuffs,

ſtuffs, European luxuries, arrived there from every quarter. Induſtry, which every where follows the current of money, could not ſearch for it with ſo much ſucceſs as at its ſource. It evidently appeared that in 1738 theſe mines produced annually 22,338,975 livres *, without reckoning the ſilver which was not regiſtered, and what had been carried off by ſmuggling. From that time the produce has been ſo much diminiſhed, that no more than one eighth part of the coin which was formerly ſtruck is now made.

The mine of Potoſi, and all the mines of South America, in purifying their gold and ſilver, uſe mercury, with which they are ſupplied from Guança Velica. Mercury, ſays an able naturaliſt, is found in two different ſtates in the boſom of the earth; it is either altogether pure, and in the fluid form which is proper to it, and then it is denominated virgin mercury, becauſe it has not experienced the action of fire, in order to be extracted from the mine; or it is found combined with ſulphur, and then it forms a ſubſtance of a red colour, which is more or leſs vivid, called cinnabar.

Till the mine of virgin mercury, which was lately diſcovered at Montpellier under the buildings of the town itſelf, and for that reaſon will probably never be worked, there had been no others known in Europe, except thoſe of Udria in Carniola. Theſe are in a valley, at the foot of high mountains, which were called by the Romans *Alpes Juliæ*. They were diſcovered by chance in

* Near 978,000l.

1497.

1497. They are about nine hundred feet deep. The descent into them is by pits, as into all other mines. There are under ground an infinite number of galleries, of which some are so low, that it is necessary to stoop in order to pass along; there are places where it is so hot, that, if one stops ever so short a time, one is in a profuse sweat: it is from these subterraneous caverns that mercury is drawn. Some stones are replete with it to that degree, that, when they are bruised, this substance issues out in the form of globules or drops. It is found also in a species of clay: sometimes even this mercury is seen running down like rain, and oozes so copiously among the rocks which form the vaults of these subterraneous caverns, that a man has often gathered thirty-six pounds of it in a day.

THERE are some people so fond of the marvellous, that they prefer this mercury to the other; which is mere prejudice. Experience shews that the best mercury that can be used, either in medicine or in metallurgy, is that which hath been extracted from cinnabar. In order to separate the natural combination of these two volatile substances, sulphur and mercury, recourse must necessarily be had to the action of fire, to which some intermediate substance must be joined. This is either the filings of steel or copper, or the regulus of antimony, or lime, or some fixed alkaline salt. This last species of mercury is drawn from Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Friuli, and Normandy; especially from Almaden in Spain, which was a famous mine even in the time of the Romans,

mans, and which with that of Guança Velica has for ſome ſhort time contributed to ſerve the Spaniſh colonies.

The common opinion is, that this laſt mine was diſcovered in 1564. The trade of mercury was then ſtill free: it became an excluſive trade in 1571. At this period all the mines of mercury were ſhut; and that of Guança Velica alone was worked, the property of which the king reſerved to himſelf. It is not found to diminiſh. This mine is dug in a prodigiouſly large mountain, ſixty leagues from Lima. In its profound abyſs are ſeen ſtreets, ſquares, and a chapel, where the myſteries of religion on all feſtivals are celebrated. Millions of flambeaux are continually kept to enlighten it.

The earth, which contains the quickſilver of this mine, is, according to the opinion of a celebrated traveller, of a whitiſh red, like ill-burnt brick. It is pounded, and put into an earthen kiln, the upper part of which is a vault like an oven, ſomewhat of a ſpherical form. This is extended on an iron grate covered with earth, under which a gentle fire is kept up with the herb *icho*, which is fitter for this proceſs than any other combuſtible matter, and the cutting of which on this account is prohibited twenty leagues round. The heat which penetrates this earth makes the pounded mineral ſo hot, that the quickſilver iſſues out of it volatiliſed in ſmoke. But, as the upper part of the kiln is cloſely ſtopped, the ſmoke finds no iſſue but by a ſmall hole, which has a communication with a ſeries of earthen retorts that are round, and the

the necks of which are inſerted into each other. There this ſmoke circulates and condenſes, by means of a little water which is at the bottom of each retort. The quickſilver then falls in a well-formed liquid. Leſs of it is collected in the firſt than in the laſt retorts. They would all grow ſo hot as to break in pieces, if care were not taken to ſprinkle them on the outſide with water.

PRIVATE people at their own expence work the mine of Guança Velica. They are obliged to deliver to government, at a ſtipulated price, all the mercury they extract from it. As ſoon as they have procured the quantity which the demands of one year require, the work is ſuſpended. Part of the mercury is ſold on the ſpot, and the reſt is ſent to the royal magazines throughout all Peru; from whence it is delivered out at the ſame price as it is ſold for in Mexico. This arrangement, which has occaſioned many of the mines to drop, and prevented others from being opened, is inexcuſable in the Spaniſh ſyſtem. The court of Madrid, in this reſpect, merits the ſame reproaches as a miniſtry in other countries would incur, that would be blind enough to lay a duty on the implements of agriculture.

THE mine of Guança Velica generally affects thoſe, who work in it, with convulſions: this and the other mines, which are not leſs unhealthy, are all worked by the Peruvians. Theſe unfortunate victims of an inſatiable avarice are crowded all together and plunged naked into theſe abyſſes, the greateſt part of which are deep, and all exceſſively cold.

cold. Tyranny has invented this refinement in cruelty, to render it impoſſible for any thing to eſcape its reſtleſs vigilance. If there are any wretches who long ſurvive ſuch barbarity, it is the uſe of cocoa that preſerves them.

THE cocoa is a ſhrub, which hardly ever riſes higher than from three to four feet; its fruit is diſpoſed in bunches. It is red when it begins to ripen, and black when it hath attained its maturity. Its leaf, which is ſoft, of a pale green, and reſembling that of the myrtle, is the delight of the Peruvians. They chew it, after having mixed it with a white earth which they call *mambis*; it is uſed by them for food: it ſtrengthens their ſtomachs, and ſupports their courage. If thoſe who are buried in the mines are in want of it, they ceaſe working, and no means whatever can compel them to reſume their labour. Their oppreſſors, therefore, furniſh them with as much as they require, ſubtracting the price of it from their daily wages. The environs of Cuſco furniſh the beſt cocoa.

Mutual communication between the different provinces of Peru.

THIS plant, the other productions of the country, and the produce of all the manufactures, are diſperſed throughout the empire in three different ways. The towns ſituated on the coaſt are furniſhed with proviſions by veſſels that are adapted to thoſe ſeas, which are always calm. An innumerable multitude of mules, which are brought from Tucuman, are uſed in the intercourſe which ſeveral provinces have with each other. The greateſt circulation is effected by means of the Guayaquil.

On the banks of this river, the origin of which is in the Cordeleras, the Spaniards at the time of the conqueſt built a pretty conſiderable town, at ſix leagues diſtance from the ſea. This is defended by three forts lately erected, and only garriſoned with burgeſſes. Theſe forts are built with large pieces of wood, diſpoſed in palliſades. The nature of this wood, which is proof againſt water, ſuits the moiſture of the ſoil.

It is mentioned, in the accounts of a Spaniſh philoſopher, that on this coaſt, as well as that of Guatimala, is found the murex, which yields that purple ſo celebrated by the antients, and which the moderns have imagined was loſt. The ſhell which contains it adheres to the rocks that are waſhed by the ſea. It is of the ſize of a large walnut. The liquor of this animal may be extracted two ways; ſome kill it, after they have drawn it out of the ſhell; then preſs it with a knife from head to tail; ſeparate from the body the part where the liquor is collected, and throw away the reſt. When this operation, after being repeated on ſeveral ſnails, has afforded a certain quantity of fluid, the thread intended to be dyed is dipped in it, and the proceſs is finiſhed. The colour, which is at firſt of the whiteneſs of milk, becomes afterwards green, and is not purple till the thread is dry. Thoſe who diſapprove this method draw the fiſh partly out of the ſhell, and, ſqueezing it, make it yield a fluid which ſerves for dying: they repeat this operation four times at different intervals, but always with leſs ſucceſs. If they continue it, the fiſh dies, by their deſtroying that which conſtitutes

conſtitutes the firſt principle of its life, and which it is no longer able to renew. No colour at preſent known can be compared to this of which we are ſpeaking, either as to luſtre, livelineſs, or duration; it ſucceeds better with cotton than with wool, linen, or ſilk.

Besides this object of curioſity, Guayaquil furniſhes the inland country of the empire with oxen, mules, ſalt, and ſalt-fiſh; it ſupplies Europe and Mexico with a great quantity of cocoa, but Peru with only a ſmall quantity, as there the herb of Paraguay is generally preferred. It is the univerſal dock-yard of the South Sea, and might, partly, become that of the mother country. We know no country on the globe that equally abounds in wood for ſhip-building and maſts, either as to quality or quantity. Hemp and pitch, of which it is deſtitute, might eaſily be furniſhed by Chili and Guatimala.

But what renders Guayaquil of ſtill greater importance, is the advantage it poſſeſſes of being the neceſſary mart and bond of communication of the mountains of Peru with its valleys, with Panama, and with Mexico. All the merchandiſe which theſe countries exchange, paſſes through the hands of its merchants. The largeſt veſſels ſtop at the harbour of the iſland of Puna, which is ſituated at the entrance of the gulph; and others go up the river about forty leagues.

Notwithstanding ſo many ſources of proſperity, the people of Guayaquil, whoſe numbers amount to twenty thouſand ſouls, are far from being wealthy. The fortunes of its inhabitants

have been ſucceſſively deſtroyed nine times by fires, which have been aſcribed to the diſcontentedneſs of the negroes; and by pirates, who have twice ſacked the town. Thoſe fortunes, which have been acquired ſince theſe fatal periods, have not continued in the country. A climate, where the heat is intolerable the whole year, and the rains inceſſant for ſix months; where dangerous and noiſome inſects do not allow any tranquillity; where diſtempers of the moſt oppoſite degrees of temperature appear to be united; where one lives in the perpetual dread of loſing one's ſight; ſuch a climate is by no means proper to fix the reſidence of its inhabitants. Such perſons are only ſeen here, as have not acquired eſtates ſufficient to enable them to remove elſewhere, and ſpend their days in indolence and pleaſure. A taſte, which predominates in the empire, induces the moſt opulent to reſide at Lima.

This capital of Peru, ſo celebrated in all parts of the world, is ſituated at two leagues from the ſea, in a delicious plain, at about an equal diſtance from the equator and the ſouthern tropic, to unite as it were all the riches and delights of South America. The proſpect from it on one ſide extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it commands a diſtance of thirty leagues as far as the Cordeleras. The ſoil of its territory is nothing but a heap of flints, which the ſea has undoubtedly in a ſeries of ages piled together, but they are covered with earth a foot below the ſurface, which the ſpring waters, that are every where found on digging, have brought from the mountains. It is

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in vain that the Spaniards would attribute the origin of these waters to their being filtrated from the sea; the theory of the globe and its natural construction testify against the validity of this opinion, which all experiments besides confirm to be false.

Sugar canes, incredible multitudes of olives, some vines, artificial meads, pastures full of salt, which give mutton an exquisite taste, small grain appropriated to the feeding of fowls, fruit-trees of every kind, and certain other plantations, cover the surface of these fortunate plains. A sea replete with fish contributes its stores to render provisions plentiful at a moderate price. Crops of wheat and barley added to this resource; but an earthquake, happening about a century ago, caused such a revolution, that the seeds rotted without sprouting. After forty years of sterility, the husbandman, seeing the soil improved, was disposed to resume his former occupations. Chili, which had an exclusive privilege of furnishing Lima with provisions, opposed the cultivation of its territory; and the capital of Spain did not allow that of Peru to support itself again by its own productions till 1750.

Lima, founded more than two centuries ago, and built by the destroyers of Peru, has been destroyed at different times by eleven earthquakes. The twelfth, which happened on the 28th of October 1746, in three minutes time ingulphed the town, its harbour of Callao, all the vessels belonging to the coast, with fifteen hundred millions *, as it is reported, of silver, either coined, worked, or in ingots. Those who had for a long time been

* 65,525,000 l.

ſunk as it were into a ſtate of lethargy, have been awakened by this violent concuſſion. A new ſpirit of activity and emulation has been productive of labour and induſtry. Lima, though leſs wealthy, is at preſent more agreeable than in 1682, when its gates preſented to the view of the duke of Palata, on his entering, ſtreets paved with ſilver.

These ſtreets now are only regular, with neat houſes and public buildings which diſplay ſkill and taſte. The water of the river, which waſhes its walls, has been confined in proper channels, and diſtributed for the convenience of the citizens, the ornament of gardens, and the fertility of the fields.

But the walls of the city are defective from the very ſolidity of their foundations. At the diſtance of a few leagues from Lima we ſee ſome houſes, formerly built, that were but juſt placed as it were on the ſurface of the earth, without any cement; which, however, have reſiſted thoſe aſſaults and convulſions that have overturned the deep-laid edifices of the Spaniards. The natives of the country, when they ſaw the foundations dug, and built with mortar, ſaid that their tyrants were digging graves for themſelves. Perhaps it was ſome conſolation to the wretchedneſs of the conquered, to foreſee that the earth itſelf would take its revenge of its depopulators; but in this reſpect two centuries of chaſtiſement have not reformed them. The pleaſure of having commodious houſes, or the vanity of raiſing ſpacious ones, ſtill triumphs over the danger of their being cruſhed to pieces.

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THE ſcourges of nature, which gave occaſion to the introduction of the arts into Lima, have produced no happy revolution in the manners of its inhabitants. Superſtition, which reigns throughout the whole extent of the Spaniſh dominions, at Peru has two ſcepters at its command; one of gold, for the uſurping and triumphant nation; the other of iron, for the enſlaved and pillaged inhabitants. The ſcapulary and the roſary are all the tokens of religion which the monks require of the Spaniards. It is on the form and colour of theſe kinds of taliſmans that the populace and the grandees found the proſperity of their undertakings, the ſucceſs of their amorous intrigues, and the hopes of their ſalvation. The religious habit aſſumed in the laſt moments, conſtitutes the ſecurity of opulent people who have lived ill; they are convinced, that when wrapped in this cloathing, which is ſo formidable to the devil, he will not dare to deſcend into their graves, and ſeize upon their ſouls. If their aſhes repoſe near the altar, they hope to partake of the ſacrifices and prayers of the prieſts, much more than the poor and the ſlaves. Influenced by ſuch fatal prejudices, what enormities will they not commit to acquire riches, which ſecure their happineſs in this world, and in the next? The vanity of immortalizing their name, and the promiſe of eternal life, ſecure to the monks a fortune, which they can no longer enjoy; and families are diſappointed of an inheritance, whether acquired by honeſty or fraud, by legacies which ſerve to enrich men who have diſcovered the ſecret of eſcaping poverty by

devoting themſelves to it. Thus it is that the order of ſentiments, ideas, and things, is ſubverted; and the children of opulent parents are condemned to miſery by the pious rapaciouſneſs of a number of voluntary mendicants. The French, Dutch, and Engliſh, loſe their national prejudices by travelling; the Spaniard carries his along with him throughout the whole univerſe; and ſuch is the madneſs of bequeathing legacies to the church, that the ground of all the houſes of Peru belongs to the prieſthood, or depends on them with regard to rent. The inſtitution of Monkiſh orders has done at Peru what the law of the *Vacuf* will do, ſooner or later, at Conſtantinople. Here the people bequeath their fortunes to a minaret, in order to ſecure it to their heirs; there they deprive an heir of it, by leaving it to a monaſtery from the dread of being damned. The means are a little different, but in the end the effect is the ſame. In both countries the church is the gulph, in which all the riches are abſorbed; and theſe Caſtilians, who were heretofore ſo formidable, ſhrink before ſuperſtition, as Aſiatic ſlaves do in the preſence of their deſpot.

If we were to judge of the Creoles from theſe extravagances, we ſhould be tempted to believe them to be totally ſtupid; but we ſhould be miſtaken. The inhabitants of the valleys have ſome degree of penetration, and thoſe of the mountains are not deſtitute of it. Both deem themſelves very much ſuperior to the Spaniſh Europeans, whom they conſider as *cavallos*, that is to ſay, brutes.

They poſſeſs more underſtanding than courage. All theſe people, though diſſatisfied with government, are alike ſubmiſſive to it. Men every where forget their numbers and their ſtrength. There, even the very name of royal officers is formidable; and four ſoldiers, diſpatched by the viceroy, make whole towns tremble at the diſtance of four hundred leagues from the capital.

This timidity in a Peruvian is the cauſe or the effect of his effeminacy. He lives among courtezans, or amuſes himſelf at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He is afraid to diminiſh the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds. The majority of the inhabitants marry behind the church, that is their expreſſion, which ſignifies living in a ſtate of concubinage. If the children who iſſue from this commerce are acknowledged by their parents, they inherit, and their birth incurs no ſtain. The biſhops anathematize every year, at Eaſter, thoſe perſons who are united in theſe illicit bonds. But what power have theſe vain terrors againſt the impulſe of amorous deſires, which are ſanctified by cuſtom, againſt the toleration or example of eccleſiaſtics of the ſecond order, and againſt the climate, which is continually contending, and at laſt proves victorious over all the civil and religious laws that oppoſe its influence?

The charms of the Peruvian women are ſuperior to the terror which the ſpiritual arms of Rome inſpire. The majority of them, eſpecially the women of Lima, have eyes ſparkling with vivacity, a fair ſkin, a complexion that is delicate, animated, full of ſprightlineſs and life, and a ſlender and

well-formed ſhape, which is extremely alluring. But that which has a greater effect on the men, is the ſmallneſs of a pretty foot, which in their infancy is faſhioned to this diminutiveneſs by ſtrait ſhoes. They turn away from the large feet of the Spaniſh women, to admire thoſe of a Peruvian, who, to the artifice of generally concealing them, adds the happy addreſs of ſometimes letting them be ſeen.

To theſe very ſmall feet we may add long treſſes, which might ſerve as a veil to modeſty, on account of their thickneſs and colour, and their natural diſpoſition to grow long. The women of Lima dreſs ſome of their hair very high on their heads, and the reſt they ſuffer to fall on their ſhoulders in the form of ringlets, without buckling or curling it. They are ſo jealous of preſerving it in its own natural beauty, that they do not put the leaſt additional ornament to it. Pearls and diamonds are reſerved for ear-rings, for large necklaces, for bracelets, for rings, and for a plate of gold ſuſpended on the center of the boſom by a ribband which goes round the body. A woman even who has no titles, and is not ennobled, ſeldom goes out full-dreſſed, but ſhe diſplays in jewels from the value of an hundred to an hundred and fifty thouſand livres *; yet it is the faſhion to affect an indifference for theſe trifles. It is neceſſary that a woman ſhould loſe, or let fall ſome of them without taking notice of it, that ſhe ſhould always have ſome jewel to replace or to add.

* On an average about 5,500l.

But what ſeduces the eyes, and raiſes the greateſt emotion, is a dreſs which leaves the boſom and the ſhoulders bare, and only deſcends to half-way the leg. From thence to the ancle falls a lace, through which are ſeen the ends of garters embroidered with gold or ſilver, and ornamented with pearls. The linen, the petticoat, the habit, all is loaded with the fineſt lace. A woman ſeldom appears in public without being attended by three or four ſlaves, moſt of them mulatto women, in liveries as the men are, and adorned with lace as their miſtreſſes.

These ladies are fond of perfumes. They are never without amber; they ſcent their linen and their cloaths with it, and even their noſegays, as if there were ſomething wanting to the natural perfume of flowers. The amber is undoubtedly an additional allurement to the men, and the flowers impart a new attraction to the women. With theſe they adorn their ſleeves, and ſometimes their hair, like ſhepherdeſſes. In the great ſquare of Lima, where there are every day ſold flowers to the amount of ſixteen or twenty thouſand livres *, ladies are ſeen in gilt calaſhes, purchaſing what is moſt rare without regard to the price; and men in crowds, adoring and contemplating what nature has formed moſt charming to embelliſh and enchant the dream of life.

Where can theſe delights be enjoyed more than at Peru? It is the proper province of the women to feel and communicate them. Among other

* Near 800 l. on an average.

pleaſures

pleaſures the women of Lima love muſic, of which they are extravagantly fond. Nothing is heard on every ſide but ſinging, and concerts of vocal and inſtrumental muſic. They have frequent balls. They dance here with ſurprizing lightneſs; but they neglect the graces of the arms, to attend to the agility of the feet, and eſpecially to the inflections of the body; which are images of the true emotions of voluptuouſneſs, as the expreſſion of the countenance is the true accompaniment of dancing. As the arms conſpire to give grace to the attitude, ſo the ideas of pleaſure are ſtill more ſtrongly expreſſed by the body. In countries where theſe ſenſations are moſt lively, dancing will agitate the feet and the body more than the arms.

Such are the pleaſures which the women taſte and diffuſe at Lima. Among many expedients to heighten and preſerve their charms, they have a cuſtom which it were to be wiſhed that they would conſent to abandon, which is the uſe of *limpion*. This name is given to ſmall rolls of tobacco, four inches long and nine lines in diameter, wrapped in the whiteſt thread, from which the tobacco is drawn out as it is uſed. The ladies only put the end of the limpion to their mouth, and chew it for a moment.

This maſtication is particularly uſed in public aſſemblies, where women receive company. Here is a drawing-room, along one ſide of which runs an alcove half a foot high, and five or ſix feet broad; it is here that, careleſly ſeated, and with croſſed legs on carpets and ſuperb cuſhions, they

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paſs whole days without changing their poſture even to eat; they uſe little tables, placed before them, for any work with which they chooſe to amuſe themſelves. The men whom they admit to their converſation ſit in elbow chairs, unleſs their adorers, from greater intimacy, are permitted to deſcend in the alcove, which is, as it were, the ſanctuary of worſhip and of the idol. Yet theſe goddeſſes love rather to be affable than haughty; and, baniſhing ceremony, they play on the harp and guitar, and ſing and dance when they are deſired.

THEIR husbands are not the perſons who are the chief objects of their complaiſance. As the greateſt part of the moſt conſiderable citizens of Lima are devoted to their courtezans, the great heireſſes are reſerved for Europeans, who come over into America. The advantage which theſe have of making the fortunes of their husbands, naturally prompts them to exert an authority over them: but let them only have the ſway of which they are ſo jealous, and they will prove conſtantly faithful. So cloſely is virtue connected with a certain degree of pride!

THE manners of the Meſtees, and of the free Mulattoes, who compoſe the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Lima, and who are employed in the arts, hardly differ from the manners of the Spaniards. The habit they have contracted of ſleeping after dinner, and repoſing one part of the day, makes them ſet a greater price upon their labour than they ought. The time they devote to labour muſt procure them the conveniences as well

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as the luxuries of life, which in general they carry to great excefs. Their wives, in particular, value themfelves on the magnificence of their furniture and drefs. They never go out but in carriages, and imitate the ladies of the firft rank, even with regard to their fhoes. They habituate themfelves to prefs their feet very tight, in order to hide their natural fize, which is feldom corrected by this management. But though they carry their imitation fo far as to form companies and affemblies as they do, yet they never attain a perfect refemblance to them. Their husbands are ftill further removed from the polite manners of the European Spaniard or the Creole, though there is but little real merit or genius required to copy them. They are rude, haughty, and troublefome; but thefe faults, which are irkfome in fociety, are fcarce ever carried to fuch excefles or violences as to difturb the public order.

The whole commerce of Lima is in the hands of the Spaniards, the number of whom is from fifteen to fixteen thoufand. The capitals they employ in trade are immenfe. There are not, in reality, more than ten or twelve houfes whofe capitals exceed two millions *; but thofe of one million † are very common, and of five hundred thoufand livres ‡ ftill more fo. The defire of enjoying their riches, the vanity of making an appearance, the paffion of ornamenting churches, prevent the fortunes of the Creoles from advancing to fuch a degree as the nature of things would admit. The

* 87,500 l. † 43,750 l. ‡ 21,875 l.

European

European Spaniards, who are ſolely occupied in purſuing the plan of returning to their country, ſhew that with induſtry and œconomy people may very ſoon enrich themſelves. Merchants, who are in want of aſſiſtance, are ſure to find it in the poſterity of the conquerors of Peru. If ſome of theſe diſtinguiſhed families have perpetuated their ſplendour by entailing their eſtates upon their eldeſt ſons, and by the revenues alone of their eſtates, the greateſt part have only ſupported it by taking part in commercial tranſactions. A ſpecies of induſtry which is ſo honourable to human nature, whoſe underſtanding, power, and activity it enlarges, has never been deemed to derogate from their nobility; and, in this point alone, they have abandoned the falſe and romantic ideas of their anceſtors. Theſe means, joined to the immenſe depoſits which come from the inland countries, have rendered Lima the center of all the tranſactions which the provinces of Peru are continually carrying on, either among themſelves, or with Mexico and Chili, or with the mother-country.

The ſtraits of Magellan appeared the only open way to form this laſt connection. The length of the paſſage, the terror inſpired by ſtormy and almoſt unknown ſeas, the fear of exciting the ambition of other nations, the impoſſibility of finding an aſylum in caſe of unfortunate accidents, and other conſiderations, perhaps, turned the general views towards Panama.

This town, which had been the gate through which an entrance had been gained into Peru, had riſen

riſen to great proſperity, when in 1670 it was pillaged and burnt by pirates. It was rebuilt on a more advantageous ſpot, at the diſtance of four or five miles from the firſt. Its harbour, called Perico, is very ſecure. It is formed by an archipelago conſiſting of forty-eight ſmall iſlands, and is capable of containing the largeſt fleets.

This place, a little while after it was founded, became the capital of the kingdom of Terra Firma. Some hopes were at firſt entertained from the three provinces of Panama, Darien, and Veragua, which compoſed it; but this proſperity vaniſhed inſtantaneouſly. The ſavages of Darien recovered their independence; and the mines of the two other provinces were found to be neither ſufficiently abundant, nor of an alloy good enough, to make it worth while to work them. Five or ſix ſmall boroughs, in which are ſeen ſome Europeans quite naked, and a very ſmall number of Indians, who have come to reſide there, form the whole of this ſtate, which the Spaniards are not aſhamed of honouring with the great name of kingdom. It is in general barren and unwholeſome, and contributes nothing to trade but pearls.

The pearl fiſhery is carried on in the iſlands of the gulph. The greateſt part of the inhabitants employ ſuch of their negroes in it as are good ſwimmers. Theſe ſlaves plunge and replunge in the ſea in ſearch of pearls, till this exerciſe has exhauſted their ſtrength or their ſpirits.

Every negro is obliged to deliver a certain number of oyſters. Thoſe in which there are no pearls, or in which the pearl is not entirely formed, are

are not reckoned. What he is able to find beyond the ſtipulated obligation is conſidered as his indiſputable property: he may ſell it to whom he pleaſes; but commonly he cedes it to his maſter at a moderate price.

Sea monſters, which abound more about the iſlands where pearls are found than on the neighbouring coaſts, render this fiſhing dangerous. Some of theſe devour the divers in an inſtant. The manta fiſh, which derives its name from its figure, ſurrounds them, rolls them under its body, and ſuffocates them. In order to defend themſelves againſt ſuch enemies, every diver is armed with a poinard: the moment he perceives any of theſe voracious fiſh, he attacks them with precaution, wounds them, and drives them away. Notwithſtanding this, there are always ſome fiſhermen deſtroyed, and a great number crippled.

The pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water. Some of them are even remarkable for their ſize and figure: theſe were formerly ſold in Europe. Since art has imitated them, and the paſſion for diamonds has entirely ſuperſeded or prodigiouſly diminiſhed the uſe of them, they have found a new mart, more advantageous than the firſt. They are carried to Peru, where they are in great eſtimation.

This branch of trade has, however, infinitely leſs contributed to give reputation to Panama, than the advantage which it hath long enjoyed of being the mart of all the productions of the country of the Incas, that are deſtined for the old world. Theſe riches, which are brought hither by a ſmall fleet,

fleet, were carried, ſome on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, that is ſituated on the northern coaſt of the iſthmus which ſeparates the two ſeas.

THOUGH the ſituation of this town was ſurveyed and approved by Columbus in 1502, it was not built till 1584, from the ruins of Nombre de Dios. It is diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, on the declivity of a mountain which ſurrounds the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was formerly very well defended by forts which Admiral Vernon deſtroyed in 1740, ſeems to afford an entrance ſix hundred toiſes broad; but it is ſo ſtraitened by rocks that are near the ſurface of the water, that it is reduced to a very narrow canal. Veſſels can only be towed into it, becauſe they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm. Here they enjoy perfect ſecurity.

THE intemperature of the climate of Porto Bello is ſo notorious, that it has been named the grave of the Spaniards. More than once the galleons have been left here, becauſe they had loſt in this place the greateſt part of their crew. The Engliſh, who blockaded it in 1726, would not have been able to have returned to Jamaica, if they had waited ſome days longer. The inhabitants themſelves do not live long, and have all a weak conſtitution. It is rather a diſgrace to be obliged to reſide here. Some negroes and mulattoes only are to be met with, with a ſmall number of white people, fixed by the poſts that the government intruſts them with. The garriſon itſelf, though only conſiſting of an hundred and

and fifty men, does not continue here more than three months at one time. Till the beginning of the preſent century no woman durſt lie-in here: ſhe would have deemed it devoting both her children and herſelf to certain death. It is an eſtabliſhed opinion, that the domeſtic animals of Europe, which have prodigiouſly multiplied in all the parts of the new world, loſe their fruitfulneſs on coming to Porto Bello; and if we may judge by the few that now are there, notwithſtanding the abundance of paſtures, we might be induced to believe that this opinion is not ill founded. The plants that are tranſplanted into this fatal region, where the heat, moiſture, and the vapours, are exceſſive and continual, have never proſpered. It would take up too much time to recount all the evils experienced here; it would be difficult to aſſign the cauſes of them, and, perhaps, impoſſible to point out the remedy.

THESE inconveniencies prevented not Porto Bello from becoming at firſt the center of the richeſt commerce that ever exiſted. While the riches of the new world arrived there, to be exchanged for the productions of the old, the veſſels that ſailed from Spain, known by the name of galleons, came hither, laden with all the articles of neceſſity, convenience, and luxury, which could tempt the proprietors of the mines.

THE deputies for tranſacting this commerce on both ſides regulated on board the admiral's ſhip the price of goods, under the inſpection of the commander of the ſquadron and the preſident of

Panama. The eſtimate was not adjuſted by the intrinſic value of each article, but by its ſcarcity or plenty. The ability of the agents conſiſted in forming their combinations ſo judiciouſly, that the cargo imported from Europe ſhould abſorb all the treaſures that were come from Peru. It was regarded as a bad market, when there were found goods neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In this caſe only, the Spaniſh merchants were allowed to go and traffic in the South Seas, and the Peruvian merchants were permitted to make remittances to the mother country for their purchaſes.

As ſoon as the prices were ſettled, the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult; it was carried on with the utmoſt frankneſs. Exchanges were made with ſo much honeſty, that they never opened their cheſts of piaſtres, nor proved the contents of their bales. This reciprocal confidence was never deceived. There were found more than once ſacks of gold mixed among ſacks of ſilver, and articles which were not entered on the invoice. All was exactly reſtored before the departure of the galleons, or on their return. There only happened in 1654 an event which might have interrupted this confidence. It was found in Europe, that all the piaſtres, that were received at the laſt fair, had a fifth of alloy. The loſs was borne by the Spaniſh merchants; but, as the treaſurer of the mint at Lima was known to be the author of this fraud, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no diſgrace.

THE

THE fair, the duration of which, on account of the noxious qualities of the air, was limited to forty days, was regularly held. It is clear from the acts of 1595, that the galleons must have been dispatched for Europe every year, or at the latest every eighteen months; and the twelve fleets that sailed from the fourth of August 1628, to the third of June 1645, prove that this rule was strictly observed. They returned at the end of eleven, ten, and sometimes even eight months, with an hundred millions * and more, in gold, silver, and goods.

THIS prosperity continued without interruption to the middle of the seventeenth century. After the loss of Jamaica, a considerable contraband trade took place, which till that time had been trifling. The sacking of Panama in 1670, by John Morgan the English pirate, was attended with still more fatal consequences. Peru, which sent thither its stock before-hand, now no longer transmitted it till after the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena. Delays, uncertainty, distrust, were the consequences of this change. The fairs were not much frequented, and smuggling increased.

SPAIN was threatened with a much greater evil. The Scots in 1690 landed twelve hundred men in the gulph of Darien. Their design was, to gain the confidence of the savages, whom the Castilians had not been able to subdue, to arm them against a nation which they detested, to form a settlement on their territory, to break off the communication

* 4,375,000l.

of Carthagena with Porto-Bello, to intercept the galleons, and to unite their forces with thoſe of Jamaica, in order to acquire a deciſive ſuperiority in this part of the new world.

This plan, which had nothing chimerical in it, diſpleaſed Louis XIV. who offered to the court of Madrid a fleet to fruſtrate the deſign: it diſpleaſed the Dutch, who had reaſon to be afraid that this new company would one day divide with them the ſmuggling trade, which they monopolized in theſe latitudes: it was alſo diſagreeable to Spain, which threatened to confiſcate the effects of the ſubjects of Great Britain, who traded in her dominions. It was more particularly alarming to the Engliſh, who foreſaw, that their coloniſts would abandon their old plantations, to go and reſide on a territory teeming with gold; and that Scotland, growing rich, would emerge from that kind of dependence to which its poverty had hitherto reduced it. This violent and univerſal oppoſition determined King William to revoke a permiſſion which his favourites had extorted from him. He moreover prohibited all his colonies in the new world from furniſhing either arms, proviſions, or ammunition, to a riſing ſettlement, whoſe ruin would inſure the public tranquillity. Thus was ſtifled in its infancy a colony, the greatneſs of which did not appear to be remote, and muſt have been very conſiderable.

The Spaniards had ſcarce time to rejoice at this happy event. The elevation of a prince of France to the throne of Charles V. kindled a general war; and, at the commencement of the firſt hoſtilities,

ties, the galleons were burnt in the port of Vigo, where the impoſſibility of gaining Cadiz had forced them to take ſhelter. The communication of Spain with Porto-Bello was then totally interrupted; and the South Sea had more than ever direct and regular connections with foreign powers.

THE peace of Utrecht, which ſeemed to promiſe a termination of theſe troubles, only ſerved to increaſe them. Philip V. who was forced to ſubmit, was compelled to withdraw the treaty of Aſſiento from the French; who being unſucceſsful in the whole courſe of the war, and at that time little acquainted with maritime commerce, had enjoyed this privilege from 1702, without deriving any conſiderable benefit from it. The French were ſucceeded by the Engliſh.

THE South Sea company, which enjoyed an excluſive privilege, was to furniſh four thouſand eight hundred Africans, and to pay the king of Spain 160 livres * a head for every negro. It was obliged to give only half for thoſe it ſhould import above this number during the twenty-five firſt years of the ſtipulation. In the five laſt it was prohibited to import beyond what was ſpecified in the contract.

IT was permitted to ſhip from Europe, on board veſſels of an hundred and fifty tons burthen, in the north ſea, cloaths, medicines, proviſions, and equipment for its ſlaves, factors, and ſhips. It could ſell all theſe goods to Spaniſh veſſels, who might have occaſion for them to return.

* 71.

On account of the diſtance, the company was authorized to build houſes on the river of Plata, to form lands in the neighbourhood of its factories, and get them cultivated by negroes or natives; that is to ſay, by means of this mart to engroſs the whole commerce of Chili and Paraguay.

The company had not leſs freedom with regard to the South Sea. It was permitted to freight at Panama, and in all the other ports on this coaſt, veſſels of four hundred tons burthen, in order to convey its negroes to all the coaſts of Peru, to equip them as it pleaſed, to nominate the commanders of them, to bring back the produce of its ſales in proviſions, in gold, or in ſilver, without being ſubject to any duty of import or export. It might ſend to Porto Bello, and convey from thence to Panama, every thing that was neceſſary for the fitting out of the ſhips it ſhould diſpatch.

Though theſe conceſſions muſt have been very diſagreeable to Spain, the Engliſh knew how to avail themſelves of their ſuperiority, and compelled her to a ſtill more painful ſubmiſſion. They obtained the permiſſion of ſending every year a veſſel laden with merchandiſe to the fair of Porto Bello. It always arrived with a thouſand tons burthen, inſtead of five hundred which it was allowed to carry. It was neither furniſhed with water, nor proviſions. Four or five veſſels, which followed it, ſupplied its wants; and frequently ſubſtituted goods in the place of ſuch as had been ſold. The galleons, ruined by this competition, were alſo greatly detrimented by every article that the Engliſh poured into their ports where they carried

carried negroes. At laſt, after the expedition of 1737, it was impoſſible to ſupport this commerce any longer, and a ſtop was put to thoſe famous fairs envied by all nations, though they might be regarded as the common treaſure of all people. From this period Panama and Porto Bello have aſtoniſhingly declined. Theſe two towns now only ſerve as a paſſage to the negroes that are carried into the South Sea, and for ſome other inconſiderable branches of a decaying traffic. Affairs of greater importance have been turned into another channel.

It is well known, that Magellan in 1520 diſcovered the famous ſtrait that bears his name, and which ſeparates the extremity of South America from Terra del Fuego. This ſtrait is computed to be near an hundred and ten leagues long, and in ſome places leſs than a league broad. Though it was for a long time the only paſſage known into the South Sea, the dangers incurred there cauſed it almoſt to be forgotten. The boldneſs of Drake, the celebrated navigator, who ſailed by this track to ravage the coaſts of Peru, determined the Spaniards in 1582 to form at the ſtraits of Magellan a ſettlement, deſtined to become the key of this part of the new world. This new colony periſhed almoſt entirely for want of proviſions. Three years after, Fernando Gomez only was left there, who was brought back into Europe by the Engliſh pirate Thomas Cavendiſh.

The loſs of this colony was not ſo great an evil as it was apprehended to be. The ſtraits of Magellan ſoon ceaſed to be the road of thoſe pirates,

BOOK VII.

who were urged by their mercenary views to visit these remote regions. Some bold navigators having doubled Cape Horn, this became afterwards the road which the enemies of Spain followed, who designed to pass into the South Sea. It was still more frequented by French vessels, during the war which caused such confusion in Europe at the beginning of the present century. The impossibility which Philip V. experienced to furnish his colonies himself with provisions, emboldened the subjects of his grandfather to go to Peru. The want of every thing, which the inhabitants then experienced, made the French to be received with joy; and at first they got a profit of eight hundred per cent. These enormous advantages were not continued. The competition at last was so considerable, the goods fell into such disrepute, that it was impossible to sell them; and several privateers burnt them, that they might not be obliged to carry them back into their country. The equilibrium was not long in re-establishing itself; and these foreign traders made advantages that were considerable, when the court of Madrid in 1718 took effectual measures to remove them from these latitudes, which they had but too long frequented.

At this time the expeditions to the South Sea by Cape Horn were discontinued. The Spaniards themselves resumed them in 1740 with tolerable advantage. They flattered themselves, that, at the expiration of the treaty of Assiento, that of Peru would resume its former activity. They must have been undeceived since that time. The colony has not furnished a greater quantity of bark, of

the wool of the vicuna, and cocoa, than before; and the mines proved to be so considerably diminished, that the annual returns in gold and silver did not exceed seventeen millions *. There was no part even of this sum for government; because, though the same duties are established at Peru as in Mexico and all the other settlements, the expences of administration have swallowed up the whole.

General remarks on new Grenada, which was detached from Peru.

Affairs were not conducted with more knowledge, probity, and œconomy, in the vice-royalty of New Grenada, which was separated from that of Peru. This new dominion, which was formed in 1718, extends along the South Sea from Panama to the gulph of Guayaquil; along the north sea from Mexico to the river Oroonoko; and runs so far back into land, that it comprehends an immense territory.

The numerous provinces, that compose this great government, are covered with immense forests, separated by high mountains, and abounding with uncultivated lands. These vast regions have not been entirely subdued. Here savages are to be met with in all parts, who have no other passion but that of surprising and massacring the Spaniards. Such even of the Indians, who have been forced to submit to the yoke, have vowed an implacable hatred against their tyrants. Their first concern is, to perpetuate this animosity in their family. They incessantly call to their children's remembrance the calamities which marked the first

* Near 744,000 l.

arrival

arrival of the deſtroyers of the new world, and that ſanguinary ſpirit which hath never ceaſed to animate their ſucceſſors.

At the time of the conqueſt, this country was inhabited by an infinite number of nations that were not populous, the greateſt part of whom led a wandering life, and were moſt of them ferocious and indolent. The men here were more active, the women more beautiful and fair, than in the neighbouring climates. The country being at a conſiderable diſtance from any of the great rivers, twenty, thirty, and forty leagues may ſometimes be croſſed without meeting with a hut. Since the time of the invaſion, this ſcanty population hath ſcarce ſuffered any diminution; becauſe there has been no deſtructive labour carried on there, and that the ſubjected people have not been condemned to work in the mines. It is ſeldom that any thing is exacted from them beſides the tribute impoſed. Some pay this with proviſions; others with gold, which they find in the torrents or rivers. There are others who fulfil this kind of obligation from the profits they make on certain European goods, which they ſell to the Indians who have not yet been ſubdued.

Remarks on the country of Quito.

The country of Quito, which hath been incorporated with what is called the new kingdom, is the beſt known and the moſt agreeable part of it. Nothing, for inſtance, can be compared to the valley formed between the double chain of the Cordeleras mountains.

In the center of the torrid zone, and even immediately under the equator, all the beauties of

of ſpring are here inceſſantly enjoyed. The mildneſs of the air, the equality of day and night, yield a thouſand delights in a country which the ſun ſurrounds with a girdle of fire. It is preferred to the climate of the temperate zones, where the change of the ſeaſons occaſions ſenſations too much oppoſite not to be inconvenient from that very inequality. Nature appears to have combined, under the line that covers ſo many ſeas and ſo little land, a multitude of circumſtances which conſpire to moderate the ardent heat of the ſun: theſe are the elevation of the globe in this ſummit of its ſphere; the vicinity of mountains of immenſe height and extent, and always covered with ſnows; and continual winds which refreſh the country the whole year, by interrupting the force of the perpendicular rays of heat. The whole univerſe would not afford a more agreeable retreat than the territory of Quito, if ſo many advantages were not counterbalanced by ſome inconveniences.

At one or two o'clock after noon, the time when the morning, which is almoſt always very fine, ends, the vapours begin to riſe, and the ſky is covered with gloomy clouds, which are changed into ſtorms. Then the whole atmoſphere is illuminated, and appears to be ſet on fire by lightning; and the thunder makes the mountains reſound with a terrible noiſe. To theſe may be added dreadful earthquakes, which ſometimes happen; at other times rain or ſunſhine prevails without intermiſſion for fifteen days together; and then there is an univerſal conſternation. The exceſs of

of moiſture ſpoils what is ſown, and drought produces dangerous diſeaſes.

But, excepting when theſe unhappy accidents, which are very rare, take place, the climate of Quito is one of the moſt wholeſome. The air is generally ſo pure, that thoſe nauſeous inſects are there unknown which diſtreſs the greateſt part of the provinces of America. Though licentiouſneſs and neglect render venereal complaints here almoſt general, the people ſuffer very little from them. Thoſe who have inherited this contagious diſtemper, or who have acquired it, grow old equally without danger and without inconvenience.

The fertility of the ſoil anſwers to the mildneſs of the climate. The moiſture and the action of the ſun being continual, and always ſufficient to unfold and ſtrengthen the ſhoots, the agreeable picture of the three moſt beautiful ſeaſons of the year is continually preſented to the eye. In proportion as the graſs withers, freſh graſs ſprings up; and the enamel of the meadows is hardly paſt, but it appears afreſh. The trees are inceſſantly covered with green leaves, adorned with odoriferous flowers, and always laden with fruit; the colour, form, and beauty of which are at once exhibited in all their ſeveral progreſſive ſtates from their firſt appearance to their maturity. The corn advances in the ſame progreſſion of fertility that is always renewing. At one view one may behold the new-ſown ſeed ſpringing up, ſome that is grown larger and ſpiked with ears, ſome turning yellow, and ſome under the reaper's ſickle. The whole year is paſſed in ſowing and reaping, within the compaſs

compaſs of the ſame field, or the ſame horizon. This conſtant variety depends on the ſituation of the mountains, hillocks, plains, and valleys.

THIS plenty of corn, maize, ſugar, flocks, and all proviſions, and the low price at which the impoſſibility of exporting them neceſſarily keeps them, has ſunk the whole province, eſpecially the capital, in the greateſt idleneſs and diſorder.

QUITO, which was conquered by the Spaniards in 1534, and is built on the declivity of the famous mountain of Pitchincha in the Cordeleras, may have fifty thouſand inhabitants, the greateſt part of whom are abandoned to ſhameful and habitual debauchery. Though ſuch manners are common in all the Spaniſh colonies, they have not been carried in any other ſpot to the ſame exceſs of corruption. Among the various paſſions which have there been indulged with the moſt licentious freedom, that of gaming has always been moſt deſtructive in its conſequences.

THOUGH it is prohibited by law to carry a poniard, yet the meſtees, free negroes, or ſlaves, are ſeldom without one. Thus it is that every week, and almoſt every day, is marked by aſſaſſination. The abuſe of thoſe aſylums, which ſecure impunity to ſuch horrid acts, is the principal cauſe of theſe diſturbances. It is to be hoped that the exceſs of the evil will point out the neceſſity of a remedy.

THE mother-country continually imputes to this depravity of manners the ruin of thoſe gold and ſilver mines that were opened at the time of the conqueſt, and the neglect of thoſe that have been

ſince

ſince gradually diſcovered. The province, it is aſſerted, might apply to this kind of induſtry with ſo much the more ſucceſs, as it is better peopled with Indians and Spaniards than any other country of the new world, and derives from itſelf prodigious plenty of excellent proviſions, which in other parts muſt be brought from a great diſtance, and at a very conſiderable expence. Then this country, formerly ſo opulent, might again riſe to its former ſtate, and reſume a luſtre which prejudice and the turn of the place will always prevent its deriving from its own agriculture and manufactures.

THE Spaniards born at Quito, and thoſe that are ſent from Europe to take upon themſelves the government of it, find theſe reproaches ill founded. Their general opinion is, that the mines of this province are not ſufficiently rich to defray the charge of working them. We cannot pretend to decide this point. Yet, if we only reflect on the ardour that theſe conquerors have always manifeſted for this ſpecies of riches, which, without any labour on their part, coſt them nothing but the blood of thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of it, we may venture to conclude, that nothing but an entire impoſſibility, founded on experience, could determine this nation to deny itſelf the purſuit of its natural inclinations, and reſiſt the urgent ſolicitations of the mother-country.

THE province of Quito has endeavoured to make up the deficiency of its mines by the produce of its manufactures. A prodigious quantity of hats, common cloth, light ſtuffs, and baize, is made

made here. Excluſive of its home conſumption, it exported annually for a long time to the amount of five or ſix millions of livres*. With this aſſiſtance it has been enabled to pay for the wines, brandies, and oils, that it was never allowed to draw from its own territory; for the dried and ſalted fiſh which was brought from the coaſts; for the ſoap which is made at Truxillo from the fat of goats, which have exceedingly multiplied there; for the iron uſed in all its works of agriculture; and for all thoſe articles of luxury it was ſupplied with from the old world. This traffic has diminiſhed more than one half. At all times the inhabitants of the province kept up the pride of dreſſing in European cloth, known throughout all America by the name of the cloth of Caſtille. This taſte is become general ſince the regiſter ſhips have been ſubſtituted to the galleons. The facility of being continually ſupplied with theſe ſtuffs, and of getting them at a lower price, has ruined the manufactures of Quito, which has been reduced to extreme wretchedneſs.

The country will never emerge from this ſtate of poverty by its connections with Spain, to which it furniſhes nothing but bark. The tree which yields this famous remedy is ſeldom more than two toiſes and a half high; its trunk and branches are of a proportional thickneſs: it grows in foreſts promiſcuouſly amongſt many other plants, and is propagated by ſeeds which fall to the ground of themſelves. The only valuable part of it is its

* On an average about 240,000 l.

bark,

bark, which is no otherwiſe prepared than by drying it. The thickeſt was always preferred, till ſome accurate experiments made in England, and frequently repeated, have ſhewn that the thinneſt bark was the moſt efficacious.

It was long believed that the bark tree was only found on the territory of Loxa, a town that was founded in 1546 by captain Alonſo de Mercadillo. That which was in the higheſt eſtimation grew two leagues to the ſouth of this place on the mountain of Cajanuma; and it is not more than fifty years ago that ſome merchants endeavoured to prove by certificates, that the bark which they ſold came from this famous place. This medicine has lately been diſcovered in the neighbourhood of Riobamba, Cuenca, and ſome other countries, all in the province of Quito.

The bark was known at Rome in 1639. The Jeſuits, who had brought it thither, diſtributed it gratis to the poor, and ſold it at an exorbitant price to the rich. The year following, John de Vega, phyſician to a vice-queen of Peru, who had experienced the ſalutary effects of it, eſtabliſhed it in Spain at an hundred crowns a pound *. This remedy ſoon acquired great reputation, which it maintained till the inhabitants of Loxa, not being able to ſupply the demands that were made on them, thought of mixing other barks with that which there was ſo much demand for. This fraud diminiſhed the confidence that had been placed in the bark, and conſequently its price. The mea-

* About 13 l.

ſures,

ſures, which the court of Madrid employed to remedy ſo dangerous an impoſition, were not entirely ſucceſsful. The late diſcoveries muſt have rendered this production ſo common, that it does not appear probable that it will be adulterated any more.

It is a generally received opinion, that the natives of the country very antiently knew the uſe of the bark. It is ſaid, that they infuſed it a whole day in water, and gave the liquor to a ſick man to drink without the grounds. The fear of revealing ſo ſalutary a remedy to the Spaniards, their tyrants, made them renounce it themſelves. They had ſo thoroughly loſt the remembrance of it, that they imagined it was uſed in Europe only for dying. Juſſieu, a French botaniſt, informed them of the contrary about thirty years ago. He taught them to diſtinguiſh the indifferent ſort of bark from the good, and from the moſt excellent of its kind; and accuſtomed them to have recourſe, as we have, to its ſpecific virtue in intermitting fevers.

These people have not paid the ſame attention to the advice of intelligent perſons who were deſirous of perſuading them to cultivate cochineal. This is found, in certain countries of the province, ſimilar in every reſpect to the cochineal of New Spain. It is employed in the manufactures of Loxa and Cuença; to which circumſtance may be aſcribed the ſuperiority of their ſtuffs and carpets to thoſe of Quito, where it is not uſed. If the Spaniards can ever be rouzed from their inactivity to purſue this ſpecies of induſtry, they will open to themſelves a new branch of commerce with

Europe, which they may enlarge, if they pleaſe, by the produce of cinnamon.

Towards the eaſtern ſide of the Cordeleras are ſituated the countries of Quixos and Macas, which were ſubdued in 1559, and annexed to the province of Quito. There are only ſome ſcattered and miſerable villages there. The firſt of theſe countries was never of any uſe to the mother country; and the ſecond hath ceaſed to be ſo, ſince the inſurrection of the Indians hath occaſioned the rich mines, which had been opened there, to be abandoned. Both produce cinnamon, which is in common uſe in Peru, and which might be much further extended, if proper attention were beſtowed upon the cultivation of it.

Remarks on Popayan and Chaco.

Till the province of Quito ſhall avail itſelf of its own natural advantages, the riches of New Grenada are limited to the metals of Popayan and Chaco, two provinces that were conquered in 1536. The barrenneſs of theſe countries at firſt induced the Spaniards to form no very favourable opinion of their acquiſition; but ſome important diſcoveries ſoon ſtamped a value on them. Gold mines were found, which are ſo much the more advantageous, as the working of them is neither expenſive, difficult, nor hazardous.

The ore is ſcattered and mixed with the earth and gravel: this mixture is conveyed into a large reſervoir, where it is pounded till the lighteſt parts eſcape from the reſervoir by a pipe which ſerves to carry off the water. Then the workmen take the heavy matter, that is to ſay, the ſand and ore which remain at the bottom, and put it into wooden buckets,

buckets, which they turn circularly with a quick and uniform motion. They change the water, and continue to ſeparate the light matter from the heavy. At laſt there remains at the bottom of theſe tubs nothing but gold cleared of all the extraneous bodies with which it had been combined. It is generally found in duſt, ſometimes in grains of different ſizes. The ſame operation is repeated in the ſecond and third reſervoirs, that are placed under the firſt to receive the light parts of the gold that may have been carried away from the firſt baſon by the running of the water. Some of the workmen are employed in waſhing it, while others dig up the ore and carry it away. The labour is never interrupted.

These works are carried on by about eight thouſand blacks. Theſe ſlaves, who are never employed in mines of any depth, becauſe the cold there kills them, are reſerved for thoſe which are near the ſurface of the earth. They may every where be employed without endangering their life: they are preferred to the Indians, who have leſs capacity and ſtrength than they have, and eſpecially leſs of that good-will which gives ſtrength and capacity. It is univerſally the cuſtom in Popayan and Chaco, that they deliver every day to their maſter a certain portion of gold; what they can collect above this quantity belongs to themſelves, as well as what they find on thoſe days that are conſecrated to religion and reſt, on which they are the maſters of their leiſure-time, on condition that during the feſtival they maintain themſelves. This agreement puts the moſt laborious, the moſt frugal,

and the moſt happy among them in a condition of purchaſing ſooner or later their liberty. Then they intermix in marriage with the Spaniards; and the two nations now form only one and the ſame people.

Remarks on Santa Fè.

THE produce of their induſtry is carried to Santa Fè of Bogota, which was built in 1536 by Gonſalvo Ximenes de Queſeda in a place where he arrived from the north ſea by the river of Magdelena, preciſely at the ſame time as Sebaſtian de Benalcazar came there from Popayan. Some violent conteſts immediately aroſe concerning the boundaries between theſe two conquerors, which terminated in favour of Queſeda. The city which he had built became the capital of the new kingdom of Grenada, where in proceſs of time were formed the towns of Marequitta, Pampeluna, Tocayma, and ſome others leſs conſiderable.

THIS colony was indebted for its firſt proſperity to the emerald, a precious ſtone, which is tranſparent and of a green colour, and which has no greater degree of hardneſs than the rock cryſtal.

SOME countries of Europe furniſh emeralds, but they are of a very imperfect kind, and in little eſtimation.

IT was for a long time believed that emeralds of a bright green came from the Eaſt Indies, and it is on this account that they have been called oriental. This opinion has been rejected, ſince it has been found impoſſible to tell the places where they were formed. It is now certain that Aſia has never ſold us any of theſe jewels, except what ſhe herſelf had received from the new world.

THESE beautiful emeralds belong certainly to America alone. The firſt conquerors of Peru found a great quantity of them, which they broke on anvils, from a perſuaſion they had that they would not break if they were fine. This loſs became the more ſenſibly felt through the impoſſibility of diſcovering the mine from whence the Incas had drawn ſo much treaſure. The mountains of New Granada at laſt ſupplied this deficiency; they furniſhed a great quantity of emeralds, which were carried to Europe, from whence they were diffuſed throughout the whole world.

THE Spaniſh hiſtorians ſpeak with enthuſiaſm of the emeralds and metals which this colony originally furniſhed. Some make the produce amount to ſums which would even aſtoniſh perſons who have the greateſt propenſity to the marvellous. Exaggeration, perhaps, has never been carried ſo far. If the fabulous reports that were raiſed had only been approaching to the truth, the coloniſts would have multiplied in proportion to their riches, as it hath happened in all the ſettlements the opulence of which has never been doubtful. This populouſneſs does not exiſt, and no æra can be alledged in which there were any remarkable emigrations.

LET this be as it may, theſe countries, which are ſuppoſed formerly to have been ſo renowned, are fallen into the greateſt obſcurity: if Santa Fè has in ſome degree been reſcued from oblivion, it does not derive this advantage from its productions, which are reduced to a ſmall quantity of tobacco, of an indifferent quality, that is diſpoſed of in the in-

land country; to a little corn, which ſerves to ſupply Carthagena with proviſion of this kind; and to a ſmall number of emeralds, and a little quantity of gold, furniſhed by the valley of Neyva. The attention ſtill beſtowed upon it is in conſequence of the happineſs it has of being the ſeat of government, the center of all buſineſs, and the mart of the riches of Popayan and Chaco.

THESE riches are carried on mules for five hundred leagues, and embarked at Honde on the river of Magdalena, upon ſmall veſſels. After a few days ſailing, they enter into a channel formed by nature, and enlarged about the middle of the laſt century, which brings them to Carthagena. In the ſeaſons when this channel is without water, and through the negligence of government it will ſoon be without it in all ſeaſons, the voyage is carried on upon the river, till they arrive at three days journey from this celebrated town, which they afterwards travel to by land.

Remarks on Carthagena.

THE place where Carthagena is at preſent ſituated, was diſcovered in 1502 by Baſtidas, who would have ſettled there, if he had not been repulſed by the ſavages. Several adventurers, who followed his footſteps, experienced the ſame reſiſtance. At laſt Heredia appeared in 1527, with a force ſufficient to reduce them. He built and peopled the town.

THE proſperity of this ſettlement drew thither in 1544 ſome French pirates, who pillaged it. In 1585 it was burnt by the celebrated Drake. Pointis took it and ranſomed it in 1697. Admiral Vernon

Vernon was obliged in 1741 to raiſe the ſiege of it, though he had undertaken it with twenty-five ſhips of the line, ſix fire-ſhips, two bomb-ketches, and as many land forces as were ſufficient to conquer all America.

After ſo many revolutions, Carthagena now ſubſiſts in ſplendour in a peninſula of ſand, which is joined to the continent only by two narrow necks of land, the broadeſt of which is not thirty-five toiſes. Its fortifications are regular. Nature has placed at a little diſtance a hill of tolerable height, on which the citadel of St. Lazarus has been built. In time of peace theſe works are defended by a garriſon of between ſix and ſeven hundred men. The town is one of the beſt built, the moſt regular and beſt diſpoſed, of any in the new world. It may contain twenty-five thouſand ſouls. Of this number the Spaniards form the ſixth part; the negroes, Indians, and ſeveral races compoſed of mixtures of an infinite variety, make up the remainder.

This mixture is more common at Carthagena than in the other Spaniſh colonies. A multitude of adventurers without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually reſorting to this place. In a country where they are totally unknown, no citizen can venture to repoſe any confidence in their ſervices; they are deſtined to ſubſiſt wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lie in the corner of a ſquare, or at the gate of a church. If the afflictions they experience in this miſerable ſtate bring ſome violent diſeaſe upon them, they are commonly aſſiſted by the free negro women, whoſe care and kindneſs

they requite by marrying them. Such who have not the happineſs of being in a ſituation dreadful enough to excite the compaſſion of the women, are obliged to retire to ſome village, to live there by cultivating the ground, and reaping the fruit of their labours; which the haughty lazineſs of the inhabitant conſiders as the utmoſt ignominy. In reality, indolence is carried ſo far, that men and women who are wealthy ſeldom quit their hammocks, and that but for a little time.

Two celebrated Spaniards have judged the climate to be one of the principal cauſes of this inactivity. The heat is exceſſive and continual at Carthagena. The torrents of water, which are inceſſantly pouring down from the month of May to November, have this peculiarity, that they never cool the air, which is ſometimes a little moderated in the dry ſeaſon by the north-eaſt winds. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perſpiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid colour of ſickly perſons. Even when they are in perfect health their motions partake of the ſoftneſs of the climate, which evidently relaxes their fibres. This indolence manifeſts itſelf even in their words, which are always uttered ſlowly, and with a low voice. Thoſe who come hither from Europe preſerve their freſh complexions and plumpneſs three or four months. They afterwards loſe both, by falling into inceſſant ſweats.

This ſtate is the fore-runner of an evil ſtill more dreadful, but the nature of which is little known. It is conjectured that ſome perſons are affected with it from catching cold, others from indigeſtion.

It

It manifeſts itſelf by vomiting, accompanied with ſo violent a delirium, that the patient muſt be confined, to prevent him from tearing himſelf to pieces. He often expires in the midſt of theſe agitations, which ſeldom laſt above three or four days. Thoſe who have eſcaped this danger at firſt, run no riſque for the future. We are aſſured from the teſtimony of men of underſtanding, that even upon their return to Carthagena, after a long abſence, they have nothing to fear.

THIS town and its territory exhibit the ſpectacle of a hideous leproſy, which indiſcriminately attacks both natives and ſtrangers. The philoſophers, who have attempted to aſcribe this calamity to the eating of pork, have not conſidered that this diſtemper is unknown in the other countries of America, where this kind of food is not leſs common. To prevent the progreſs of this diſtemper, an hoſpital has been founded in the country. All perſons who are ſuppoſed to be attacked with it are ſhut up here, without diſtinction of ſex, rank, or age. The benefit of ſo wiſe an eſtabliſhment is loſt through the avarice of the governors, who, without being deterred by the danger of ſpreading the diſeaſe, ſuffer the poor to go in and out to beg. Thus it is that the number of the ſick is ſo great, that the incloſure of the dwelling is of an immenſe extent. Every one there enjoys a little ſpot of ground that is marked out for him on his admiſſion. There he builds an abode ſuitable to his fortune, where he lives in tranquillity to the end of his days, which are often long, though unhappy. This diſorder ſo powerfully

fully excites that paſſion which is the ſtrongeſt of all others, that it has been judged neceſſary to permit marriage to ſuch as are afflicted with it. This is, perhaps, increaſing the paſſion by increaſing the means of ſatisfying it. Theſe deſires appear to be irritated by the very gratification of them, they increaſe by their very remedies, and are reproduced by each other. The wretchedneſs of beholding this ardent diſeaſe, which infects the blood, perpetuated in the children, hath given way to the dread of other diſorders that are, perhaps, chimerical.

If we were leſs acquainted with the negligent diſpoſition of the Spaniards, we might perſuade them to make an experiment, which, probably, would be attended with ſucceſs. There are ſome people in Africa that are ſituated nearly under the ſame latitude, who have a cuſtom of rubbing the body with an oil that is expreſſed from the fruit of a tree that is like the palm. This oil is of a diſagreeable ſmell, but has the ſalutary property of ſtopping the pores of the ſkin, and checking the ſweats which the heat of the climate would render exceſſive, eſpecially during three months of the year, in which a dreadful calm afflicts theſe countries. If a ſimilar method were tried at Carthagena, perhaps the leproſy might be reſtrained, or even totally aboliſhed. We know that thoſe who are attacked with this diſeaſe perſpire no longer, and that their ſkin is hard and ſcaly. Would it be repugnant to the principles of ſound philoſophy, to attribute it to too copious a perſpiration, which impoveriſhes the fibres of the ſkin,

ſkin, and renders them incapable of performing their functions? The uſe of an oil or greaſe fit to diminiſh this extreme degree of perſpiration, and at the ſame time prevent its total ſuppreſſion, ſeems to be the method indicated by nature to guard againſt the calamity we are now ſpeaking of.

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſtemper, the badneſs of the climate, and many other inconveniences, Spain hath always ſhewed a great predilection for Carthagena, on account of its harbour, one of the beſt that is known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a deep and excellent bottom. There is leſs agitation there, than on the moſt calm river. The paſſage to it formerly was ſolely by the canal of Bocca Chica. This was ſo narrow, that only one veſſel could paſs, without being expoſed to the croſs batteries of forts erected on both ſides. The Engliſh in 1741 having deſtroyed the fortifications that defended this paſſage, it was ſhut up by the Spaniards. An antient canal was opened, which was diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that it will not be eaſy for an enemy's ſquadron to force it. This is the way by which all veſſels now enter into the harbour.

AT the time that the trade of Peru was carried on by the galleons, theſe veſſels ſailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and viſited it again on their return. In the firſt voyage, they depoſited the merchandiſe that was neceſſary for the interior provinces, and received the price of it in the ſecond. This arrangement diſpleaſed the merchants of Lima, who pretended that, when they came back from the fair, they found all their country

country provided with the ſame things which they had been to fetch at a great diſtance. They petitioned, and they obtained that Carthagena ſhould not be ſtocked till after Porto Bello.

By this reſtriction the provinces of Santa Fè, Popayan, and Quito, were reduced, either to draw at a great expence and with great hazard what they wanted from the fair itſelf, or to content themſelves with the refuſe of it. This arrangement, which continued ſeveral years, was extremely diſpleaſing to them. In 1730 a ſcheme was deviſed, which ſeemed proper to reconcile the differences. It was agreed that things ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed on the old footing; but that at the arrival of the galleons the traffic of European goods ſhould ceaſe between the two vice-royalties. Spain had not yet made ſufficient progreſs in the knowledge of political œconomy, to be ſenſible how far ſuch a regulation was contrary to reaſon and to her intereſt.

The ſuppreſſion of the galleons made no change in this matter. The veſſels which ſucceſſively come to Carthagena, to ſupply New Grenada with proviſions, do not annually carry away above five millions *. Thoſe who know that there is more than double this ſum coined in the mint of Santa Fè, the only money that exiſts in the country ſince that of Popayan was ſuppreſſed, and who cannot alſo be ignorant that all the gold which the mines produce cannot poſſibly be coined there, will be amazed at the ſmallneſs of theſe returns. But their aſtoniſhment will ceaſe, if they conſider

* Not quite 219,000 l.

the

the quantity of gold that is fraudulently exported. Smuggling is carried on in ſeveral places on the coaſt. The riches of Chaco are chiefly conveyed away by the river of Atrato, which falls into the gulph of Darien; and thoſe of Popayan by the different mouths of the Magdalena, which it is impoſſible to guard. Spain will never ſucceed in breaking theſe ſmuggling connections, unleſs ſhe abandons her former prejudices. A more rational ſyſtem would not only ſecure to her the treaſures ſhe is likely to loſe, but would alſo give a new value to the only lands of the viceroyalty that are cultivated with emolument to the mother-country.

Remarks on the countries ſituated between the rivers Magdalena and Oroonoko.

BETWEEN the rivers of Magdalena and Oroonoko is a long ſucceſſion of coaſts which occupy an immenſe ſpace. Theſe were diſcovered in 1499 by Ojeda, John de la Caſas, and Americus Veſputius, who landed with four ſhips at a place which they called Venezuela, from the reſemblance it appeared to them to have with Venice. The ſettlements which theſe adventurers and their followers attempted on the continent, were not formed with the ſame eaſe as thoſe in the iſlands. The ſavages, who were accuſtomed to make war upon one another, reſiſted them with a degree of oppoſition that was ſometimes obſtinate. At laſt theſe ſmall detached nations, which by their natural diſpoſition, or the ſtate of war they lived in, had rarely any fixed abode, took the reſolution either of removing themſelves far back into the inland countries, or of ſubmitting.

A CONSIDERABLE number of ſmall towns were then built, the moſt famous of which were Cumana,

mana, Caraccas, Verina, Coro, Maracaybo, and Saint Martha. In the territory of ſome of theſe were found mines of gold, which at firſt were worked. Their produce in the beginning was pretty conſiderable; but this ſucceſs was only tranſitory. Whether this aroſe from there being little gold in them, or, as is moſt probable, that moſt of them were only the branches of mines, it ſoon became neceſſary to abandon them. In the ſettlements that were deſtitute of mines, the Spaniards, thirſting after gold and blood, went into the internal parts of the country to maſſacre the Indians, or wreſt from them what they had collected of that valuable ſand in their rivers, in order to compoſe various ornaments of it. The laſt reſource of theſe deſperate men was to make ſlaves, in order to export them into the iſlands that their barbarity had depopulated.

La Casas was incenſed at this horrible conduct. In 1519, he propoſed to form a colony on this coaſt, in which no one ſhould be able to ſettle but with his conſent. His coloniſts were to be cloathed in ſuch a manner, as to make it believed that they did not belong to the nation which had rendered itſelf ſo odious. Their apparel was to be white, with a croſs of the ſame colour, and nearly the figure of that of Calatrava. He affirmed, that with theſe kind of knights, and with miſſionaries inſtructed by himſelf, he ſhould be able, without war, violence, or ſlavery, to form connections with the ſavages, to civilize them, to eſtabliſh agriculture, and even to work the mines that might be diſcovered. His ambition

was confined to obtaining for his expence the twelfth of what the government ſhould draw from the countries whoſe felicity he thus anxiouſly ſtudied.

This plan was too favourable to mankind not to be rejected. The ambitious, who govern ſtates and nations, conſider them as mere objects of trade, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to the improvement and happineſs of the human ſpecies. Charles V. mortgaged the province of Venezuela, ſituated in the midſt of the coaſt we are now ſpeaking of, to the family of the Welſers. Theſe rich merchants of Ausburg in 1528 ſent thither four hundred and fourſcore Germans, who in avarice and ferocity ſurpaſſed all perſons that had before appeared in the new world. Hiſtory accuſes them of having maſſacred or cauſed to be deſtroyed a million of Indians. Their tyranny ended by a horrible cataſtrophe, and they were never replaced. It was conſidered as a happineſs, that the country which they had laid waſte ſhould return under the Spaniſh dominion.

Unfortunately the ſcenes of horror, which the Germans had exhibited, were renewed by Carjaval, who was appointed to the government of this unhappy country. This monſter, it is true, loſt his head on a ſcaffold; but the puniſhment did not recall from the grave the victims he had ſacrificed. The depopulation was ſo complete, that in 1550 a great number of negroes were imported from Africa, on whom the hopes of an unbounded proſperity were founded. The habit of tyranny made the Spaniards treat theſe

ſlaves

ſlaves with ſuch ſeverity, that they revolted. Their rebellions furniſhed a pretext for maſſacring all the males; and this colony once more became a deſert, in which the aſhes of negroes, Spaniards, Indians, and Germans, were intermixed. Venezuela fell again into that total oblivion which alſo involved the provinces that are in the vicinity of the Oroonoko and the Magdalena, though the extent, excellence, and variety of their ſoil, might have invited the mother country to derive ſeveral productions from them, and for the moſt part very rich ones. The center of this extenſive coaſt is employed in cultivating cocoa.

The cocoa-tree is of a middling ſize, and is propagated from ſeeds, which are ſown at certain diſtances. When it begins to ſhoot, it divides into three, four, five, or ſix trunks, according to the vigour of the root. In proportion as it grows, its branches, which are always very far from one another, bend towards the earth. Its leaves, which are long and ſmooth, have an agreeable ſmell, terminate in a point, and reſemble, if they were gloſſy, thoſe of the orange tree. From the ſtem, as well as from the branches, riſes a jonquil flower, the piſtil of which contains the husk that incloſes the fruit. This husk, which is of the figure of a melon, and is pointed and divided into portions that are ſtrongly marked, grows to the length of about ſix or ſeven inches, and the breadth of four or five, and incloſes between twenty and thirty ſmall almonds. It is green during its growth; then it turns yellow; which is a proof that its fruit begins to have ſome degree

degree of firmneſs. As ſoon as it acquires the colour of deep muſk, it muſt be gathered, and dried immediately. Every ſeed of the cocoa is found incloſed in the diviſions of the membranes of the huſk. Two crops are made annually, which are equal in quality and quantity.

THE cocoa tree, which begins to reward the labour of the cultivator at the end of two or three years, requires a moiſt ground. If it wants water, it produces no fruit, withers, and dies. A ſhade, to ſhelter it continually from the heat of the ſun, is not leſs neceſſary to it. It ought to be ſurrounded with ſtrong trees, that under the ſhelter of them it may flouriſh. The culture it further requires is neither laborious nor expenſive. It is ſufficient to extirpate the graſs around it, which would deprive it of its nouriſhment.

THOUGH the cocoa tree is ſucceſsfully cultivated in ſeveral countries of America, and even grows naturally in others, it ſucceeds in no part of it ſo well as on the coaſt we are deſcribing. All the parts of America gather a little, but it only becomes an important object on the territory of Caraccas. It is reckoned that the crop of this valuable fruit produces more than a hundred thouſand fanegas of one hundred and ten pounds each. The country of Santa Fé conſumes twenty thouſand; Mexico a little more; the Canaries a ſmall cargo; and Europe from between fifty to ſixty thouſand. The cultivation of this plant employs ten or twelve thouſand negroes. Such of them, who in proceſs of time have obtained their

liberty, have built the little town of Nirva, where they will not admit any white people.

The commerce of Caraccas, to which the bay of Guaira at two leagues from it ſerves for a harbour, was a long time open to all the ſubjects of the Spaniſh monarchy, and is ſo ſtill to the Americans. The Europeans are not ſo well treated. In 1728, a company was formed at Saint Sebaſtian, which obtained an excluſive right of maintaining connections with this part of the new world. Four or five ſhips, which they diſpatch every year, ſail from thence, but they return to Cadiz. The fanega of cocoa, which ſeldom in the colony coſts more than thirty-five livres*, that are paid in merchandiſe, is delivered in Spain at the fixed price of one hundred and ninety-nine livres†. There is no price ſettled for the little cotton, indigo, and leather, which come from this part of the new world.

When we conſider that this is all the produce of a coaſt which is nine hundred leagues long, and twenty, thirty, and forty deep, in a ſoil very often highly ſuſceptible of cultivation; it is impoſſible not to be ſeized with aſtoniſhment and indignation. If Spain would take effectual meaſures to beſtow marks of diſtinction on all perſons who are employed in uſeful labours, the plunderers who now acquire at Saint Martha a miſerable ſubſiſtence by ſmuggling on the river de la Hacha, and in other places, would then apply themſelves to agricul-

* 1l. 10s. 7d. ½. † About 8l. 14s.

ture.

ture. To that ſpirit of deſtruction, which has hitherto been the baſis of her policy, if ſhe would ſubſtitute the principles of moderation and humanity, we ſhould then behold the Motilones, the Guajaros, and all the ſavages that ſurround her back ſettlements, or who intercept their communication, haſten to form connections, which will become neceſſarily and reciprocally uſeful. Then the provinces, that are ſituated between Magdalena and Oroonoko, will riſe to that degree of ſplendor for which they are deſtined by nature. They will excel in rich and various productions a great number of colonies, whoſe fertility has been celebrated for ſo long a time. Theſe important objects are ſo evident, that it would be uſeleſs to enlarge upon them any further. We ſhall therefore proceed to ſpeak of Chili.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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